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German troops to help UN peace keeping mooted

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Who wants to amend Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, to allow German troops to be sent on peace missions outside Nato territory? And who is opposed to the idea?

Oddly enough, the Social Democrats are keen to rewrite the constitution to enable West German soldiers to be seconded to United Nations peacekeeping forces.

Bonn government spokesman Herbert Schmülling, representing the ruling Christian and Free Democrats, marshals trusted arguments against.

Both Basic Law and the North Atlantic Treaty rule out the deployment of Bundeswehr units outside Nato territory, he says. Besides, no-one at the United Nations has called on the Federal Republic to send troops to man a peacekeeping force.

Both arguments deserve closer scrutiny. True enough, no-one at the UN in New York has formally approached the Federal Republic.

Yet the head of the UN peacekeeping force, assistant secretary-general Marack Goulding, has canvassed for German support in a manner that falls little short of a formal application.

"The Federal Republic," he said, "is a very important member of the United Nations and the Security Council, so it would be both appropriate and to be welcomed if it were to decide in favour of placing units under UN command."

Germany has fared very well so far with its abstinence in world affairs. The Germans have flourished in GNP growth terms while their allies have lost arms and men in all kinds of military intervention around the world.

The war in Indo-China, for instance, cost France more than the sum total of Marshall aid it received.

For decades the rest of the world was only too happy to see the descendants of Guderian and Rommel stay in their own country or go no further afield than Nato ranges. That too must not be forgotten.

But times change and people begin to wonder whether the Federal Republic is "smaller" (or can afford to make itself out to be "smaller") than Norway, population four million, or Fiji, population 800,000, who for years have sent troops out to serve with Unifil in Lebanon and keep an uneasy peace.

The United Nations has set up seven peacekeeping forces over the years, and 550 blue-helmeted soldiers under UN command have died in action.

In other words, keeping the peace has taken its toll, and without offering glory in return.

Yet if we all set such great store by peace as politicians of all hues claim why shouldn't German troops be sent to serve under UN command as members of a United Nations peacekeeping force?

We are regularly — and blandly — told that Basic Law rules out the option. But views may differ on this interpretation, especially as it dates back to a 3 November 1982 *political* decision by the Federal Security Council.

The Kohl government marshalled the constitutional argument that the Bundeswehr could only be deployed in response to an attack on the Federal Republic itself to ward off allied pressure for a German presence in the Persian Gulf.

But does Article 24 of Basic Law really rule out German participation in a UN peace mission? What the article basically says is that the Federal government is entitled to join to a system of collective security to preserve the peace.

Yet what, basically, is the United Nations other than the ideal of a system of collective security along the lines of one for all and all for one?

What, for that matter, does Article 87 a of Basic Law say? Other than for defence purposes, it says, the Bundeswehr may only be deployed in cases expressly permitted by Basic Law.

This provision, according to the Mangoldt and Klein commentary on Basic Law, was aimed mainly at limiting the *domestic* deployment of the Bundeswehr.

Besides, German foreign policy is said in principle to be subordinate to international law, which as defined by the United Nations and others is extremely generous in its interpretation of what constitutes self-defence.

So the bid by SPD strategists Hermann Scheer and Norbert Gansel may be superfluous. Basic Law may not need any amendment to sanction the secondment of Bundeswehr units for service with UN peacekeeping forces.

What is definitely needed is, however, a *political* debate in which West Germans come to appreciate their international responsibilities 43 years after the war's end.

On this count there is a wider consensus between the political parties than Herr Schmülling's comments might at first glance seem to indicate.

Christian Democratic Defence Minister Rupert Scholz is, for instance, one of a number of politicians who have given serious consideration to UN commitments.

Few if anyone would deny that the Federal Republic is a powerful country for a state of its size, and who can deny that power sires responsibility?

Is the Federal Republic entitled to shoulder less responsibility than neutral Austria, which was also on the losing side in World War II and has since placed Austrian troops under UN command? Power as such is not evil even

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Thousands of hormone-treated calves kept in appalling conditions are being destroyed as a public-health measure. See page 8. (Photo: Lutz Press)

Europe's case of cart before horse

Striking instances of historic irony are frequently apparent. Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, has just supplied one.

In a TV programme aimed mainly at women viewers, she said there would not be a United States of Europe in her lifetime; she hoped there would never be one at all.

In its place, she said, she supported the idea of an *Europe des patries*, or Europe of fatherlands, as advocated by General de Gaulle.

The General, who at one stage vetoed British membership of the European Community, will have turned in his grave at thus being cited in support of British independence of mind.

Mrs Thatcher can be sure of the approval of many of her fellow-countrymen in warning against too close ties between Britain and a united Europe.

All member-countries of the European Community feel somewhat uneasy on being expected to forgo yet more of their national sovereignty.

Yet nowhere is this malaise more widespread than in Britain, which still likes to recall the days when it prided itself on a policy of splendid isolation.

We need go no further afield for instances of this lack of enthusiasm about European integration. It is alive and well in our own country.

In the European Community the Federal Republic has been relegated on environmental protection to the unsatisfactory role of a convoy vessel capable of higher speeds but condemned to keeping pace with the slowest ship.

By no means all members of the European Community are looking forward to 1992, the magic deadline for a single internal market.

The single internal market will be mainly to the benefit, and to the most substantial benefit, of large-scale industry. Whether it will be equally to the benefit of the individual can at best be said to be uncertain and a moot point.

Even in industry there are misgivings, and they cannot simply be dismissed.

The crux of these misgivings, which are shared in the ranks of all political parties, lies in the realisation that a genuine common market will make no sense as long as a common economic policy is impossible.

In other words, Europe has wrongly

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Disengagement and detente in Asia

Asia, a continent racked by war and crises, faces a time of change. New yardsticks and also new rivalries are emerging.

Economic success and diplomatic acumen seem sure to play a more important part than sheer military might in shaping the destiny of the three billion Asians, or 60 per cent of mankind.

Japan and China, the latest powers promoted to the major league, appreciated this point far sooner than the old superpowers America and Russia.

The economically-minded Chinese reduced the strength of their People's Liberation Army by over one million men without blowing the disarmament trumpet all that stridently.

Japan, as an economic world power, spends only a little over one per cent of GNP on defence, which makes it still the rearguard of the leading industrialised countries.

Disengagement and detente are the keywords in Asia and the Pacific.

Old enemies plan to bury the hatchet and seek new ties. Conflicts that impede development, from Korea to Indo-China and from the Kurile islands to Taiwan, are becoming easier to settle or defuse.

Yet parties to the conflicts still have plenty of ballast, accumulated over the decades, to jettison before they can expect to make any real progress.

Nowhere do they need to do so more urgently than in Korea, where about 1.3 million soldiers have faced each other across the 38th parallel since 1953.

A dozen detente moves have failed miserably, yet suddenly the idea of building a bridge between the estranged Korean cousins stands a better chance, with all the great powers involved heading in the same direction.

The Chinese and Russians, former comrades-in-arms of North Korea, are now on almost friendly terms with South Korea, which is hosting this year's Olympics.

After the Games the Americans, little though they may relish the idea, will have to take a closer look at North Korea's demand for a peace treaty.

In South Korea memories of the joint struggle against Kim Il Sung's militant communism are fading, so much so that some Koreans are wondering whether Seoul still needs the US forces stationed in South Korea.

Over much of Asia there are incontrovertible signs of a new wave of anti-Americanism fuelled by nationalist sentiment.

A comment characteristic of this current of opinion is Philippine Foreign Minister Manglapus's call: "Destroy the lord and master image of the United States!"

The Americans have undeniably failed to treat weaker countries as partners with equal rights, yet by this same token security systems would be badly shaken if the United States were to vacate its Philippine bases in a hurry.

The Americans hope that Japan, as an economic superpower with growing claims to political status, will step into the breach.

But they know that Tokyo can do no more than assume a share of responsibility for the defence of South-East Asia and of shipping routes in the region.

Even so, Japanese Defence Minister Kawara cautiously sounded out the prospects of closer military cooperation on a tour of South-East Asia this summer.

Contrary to expectations his findings were more encouraging. Traditional anti-Japanese sentiment is evidently on the decline.

The Japanese would nevertheless do their own interests and those of an unruly region the best service by exercising military restraint and limiting their contribution toward stability to training facilities and to massive economic aid.

One reason why Tokyo would do well to heed this advice is that while Japan is preparing to take on new tasks in South-East Asia and its ties with China range from satisfactory to good, its relations with the Soviet Union remain unclarified.

Both sides feel a strong need to review relations. Tokyo would like to sign a peace treaty with Moscow at long last, while the Soviet Union realises it stands to gain easier access to the forthcoming Pacific Age with Japanese support.

The Russians are thinking first and foremost in terms of gaining admission to the Asian Development Bank and of exploitation the natural resources of Siberia.

Mr Gorbachov could enlist Japanese support on both counts, but he must first summon the courage to make concessions to Tokyo on the tricky Kurile islands issue.

The new era of change that lies ahead for Asia will naturally be determined mainly by developments in and around China.

Asia's largest power to gain promotion continues to aim at re-establishing normal ties with the Soviet Union and is nursing its close ties with the United States, but it has other, important aims in mind.

Peking is paying increasing attention to the four little dragons: Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore.

These four have an uncommon advantage in connection with the modernisation of backward China. While they are no longer developing countries they are still some distance away from the advanced technology of the industrialised West and Japan.

Hong Kong's economic ties with China are growing by leaps and bounds. Trade with South Korea and Taiwan is increasing too.

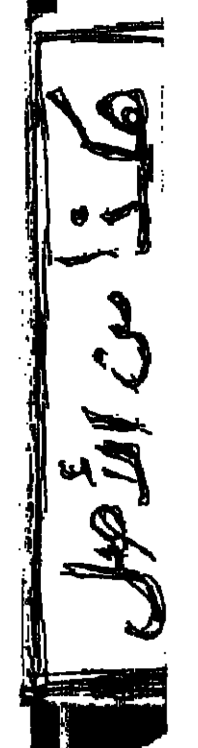
It remains to be seen whether economic rapprochement will influence political systems.

At all events, Peking has appealed, with increasing success, to all suitable neighbours to make their contribution toward developing the enormous Chinese market.

China's attraction is evidently irresistible.

Siegfried Kubink

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 15 August 1988)



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though the Germans may have put it to evil use in recent history.

"The problem with power," Robert F. Kennedy wrote, "is to subordinate it to responsibility and to prevent it from falling foul of unscrupulousness and self-aggrandisement."

Those who, like many Germans, see peace as the highest dictate can hardly be keener on anything other than entrusting a small part of their power with responsibility for keeping the peace.

Josef Joffe

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 17 August 1988)

Saddam Hussein emerges from Gulf War as a regional giant



Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi head of state, has been hailed not only by his fellow-Iraqis but by people in neighbouring Arab states as a national hero.

Like Nasser in his day, Saddam Hussein is seen by some as a latter-day Saladin. This quietly overlooks an inconvenient historical fact.

The Egyptian ruler Salah al Din al Ajjubi, who defeated the Crusaders at the battle of Hattin near Lake Tiberias in 1187, happens to have been a Kurd.

But he did come from Tikrit on the Tigris, which is Saddam Hussein's home town.

The Iraqi ruler has indeed emerged from the Gulf War strengthened to a degree that would have seemed impossible only a year ago.

Even the Israelis and their efficient secret service were taken by surprise, as was evident from the worried comments made by a number of Israeli newspapers and politicians.

Israel, like other countries, had expected Islamic neighbours Iran and Iraq to be preoccupied with each other for a while yet.

Iran having yielded amounted to an admission that Saddam Hussein could not be overthrown or the Baath Party be ousted from power in Baghdad.

After an official peace settlement Iraq might, or so many Israelis are afraid, revert from a position of renewed strength to its aims and interests in Palestine and Lebanon.

It would also be doing so at a time when King Hussein had changed the situation by renouncing to the Palestinians his claim to sovereignty over the West Bank.

So statements by Premier Shamir of Israel to the effect that the situation in the occupied territories has not been changed by the king's latest move can only be described as deliberate optimism.

Once war damage has been rectified oil-rich Iraq, which boasted a flourishing economy when the Gulf War began and even in its early days, will emerge as a leading power in the eastern Arab world, not least in view of its "victory" over Iran.

This forecast holds good despite the heavy losses in manpower and industrial capacity Iraq has suffered in the Gulf War.

The heavy burden of debts, especially debts owed to Western countries such as France and to fellow-Arabs, will also pose problems for some time yet.

But analysts do foresee an axis that might extend from Baghdad via Riyadh and Amman to Cairo, in other words, an alliance of Iraq, with its renewed strength, Saudi Arabia, influential as ever, Jordan and an Egypt honourably readmitted to the Arab ranks.

Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Egypt have lent Iraq all the support they could for the past eight years — financial, political and moral.

Iraq was back on friendly terms with Jordan in the early 1980s, previous tension having dated back to 1958 when revolutionary officers led by General Qasim ousted and killed Hussein's cousin, Faisal II of Iraq.

They in turn were ousted in 1963 by a Baath Party government, also revolutionary, which pursued similarly anti-monarchist policies.

But Iraq's clash with the Islamic revolution to the east and within its own borders forced Baath leader Saddam Hussein to form new alliances.

Relations with rich Saudi Arabia improved at this stage, Saddam Hussein having demonstrated a degree of moderation toward Riyadh before the Gulf War began.

Little though the revolutionary nationalist regime of the Baath Party in Baghdad and the puritan rule of the Saudi family in Riyadh may have in common, the Gulf War broke the ice between them once and for all.

In recent years Saudi Arabia has backed Iraq so staunchly that it has increasingly assumed the status of "arch-enemy," second only to Iraq itself.

Saudi Arabia now seems, alongside the Soviet Union, to have brought powerful pressure to bear on Baghdad to forgo its demand for direct talks before declaring a ceasefire.

Much the same can be said of relations between Iraq and Egypt. When the Gulf War began, President Sadat was still alive. In Iraq he was seen as the "Camp David traitor" and relations between Baghdad and Cairo were stone cold.

After Sadat's assassination on 6 October 1981 his successor, Hosni Mubarak, succeeded in gradually reintegrating Egypt in the community of Arab nations.

Relations with Iraq soon grew more than friendly. Cairo supplied arms and was said at times to have sent the Iraqis pilots. There has been a steady stream of Egyptian friendship delegations to Baghdad.

Once peace terms have been agreed Israel could well come under massive pressure from these four Arab states to negotiate on a settlement of the Palestinian conflict.

Iraq, seasoned in battle, might play the leading role, backed by Saudi Arabia.

Its strength renewed, Iraq might also revert to its revolutionary ideology and steer a course in opposition to the conservative states that have lent it such staunch support.

Neighbouring Syria, Iraq's ideological rival, will also need to beware of Baghdad with its strength renewed.

Syria sided with Iran in the Gulf War. Its economy is in a poor state, whereas Iraq's stands to flourish if peace really comes.

Ernst Günter Lerch

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 August 1988)

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Is Bangemann all on his own? FDP chairman Martin Bangemann (right) with former chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher. (Photo: Wolfgang Weber)

■ HOME AFFAIRS

A difficult interregnum: rumblings in FDP ranks over the leadership

Bonn Economics Minister Martin Bangemann is going to Brussels to become a member of the European Commission. He will be giving up his position as chairman of the Free Democrats. In October a new chairman will be elected. But the changeover is causing difficulties within the party and many members are unhappy with the way Bangemann has gone about things. Claus Gennrich looks at the party's wrangling for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

The question of who is to succeed Martin Bangemann as chairman of the FDP will not be decided before the party congress in Wiesbaden in October. This leaves the party in a state of limbo.

Until then, the experts in the FDP's parliamentary party in the Bundestag will continue to call the tune during coalition discussions on reform plans.

In the meantime, the party lacks a guiding hand, although it is not clear whether a party with such an individualist leaning even wants one.

There is still a party chairman but many have almost forgotten his name.

Ever since Bangemann made it clear that he was gradually turning his back on his role as Economics Minister in Bonn, an intention which was underlined by his absence from decisive budget talks in early summer, others have started to turn their back on him.

When he announced in May that he intended taking a job as European Community Commissioner in Brussels, he insisted that he would not be handing in his resignation as chairman before it was due. He would simply not run for a further term.

He said that there was no need for an extraordinary party conference and that he would carry on until the end of the term. But the party now feels that it is all working out too casually.

Most people expect Bangemann to step down as Economics Minister in November. His term as a Commissioner starts in the New Year.

He could remain Minister until the end of the year. Whatever he decides he will be performing in the Cabinet longer than he will be party chairman. The transition period drags on.

Bangemann has not hidden his disappointment about some of his senior colleagues. This has, in turn, earned him rejection.

He has reason to be disappointed: he wanted to present the FDP as the "better partner" in the coalition and felt that his readiness to compromise was being unjustly criticised.

Critics say he often made commitments without checking first if he had party backing. They say he often acted as if he was more powerful than he was. He has pursued what he believes is a course which makes sense, but others have not always agreed with his idea of what this implies.

So there is a rift between Bangemann and party. The FDP parliamentary party took offence at his absence from the budget talks; Bangemann took offence at this response.

He is convinced that he has shown both the party and the parliamentary group which way to go; as they don't want to follow his course he feels that the party has to go its own way.

During his meeting with President Mitterrand in June Chancellor Kohl signed an agreement which meant that Frenchman Jacques Delors remain Commission President for between two to four years and that Bangemann, who would then be a Commissioner, should be considered for the job.

Count Otto Lambsdorff and Frau Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer are the two candidates to succeed Bangemann as chairman.

Lambsdorff hopes to get the backing of the delegates who have known him for many years. He has his rhetorical skills on his side.

During party conferences he speaks vividly, resolutely and to the point. This will be a great asset in October.

Lambsdorff views himself as representative of the party as a whole. His position on legal issues is often the same as party colleagues Gerhart Baum and Burkhard Hirsch, although Lambsdorff feels that his stance is more effective.

He does not regard his involvement in the party fund-raising affair as a serious obstacle, particularly since the party's executive bodies assured him that, exonerated from the charge of bribery, he is again eligible for any leading position.

Lambsdorff's problems are rooted in the party's ambivalence. On the one hand, the FDP wants to be led — and is particularly aware of the need for leadership in the current vacuum. On the other hand, it dislikes too much guidance.

Lambsdorff has the reputation of being almost authoritarian; this could worsen his chances of being elected chairman.

If he asks the FDP in October whether it wants to be led — and he is convinced that Frau Adam-Schwaetzer cannot fulfil such a task — he must be ready for an "emotional no" from delegates who would probably answer the same question with a "rational yes." The mood of the moment will probably decide which response tips the scales at the conference

Adam-Schwaetzer is counting on the support of delegates who like the idea of being the first German party to put a woman at its helm. Furthermore, her election would mean giving executive power to a representative of a different generation to that to which both Genscher and Lambsdorff belong.

Frau Adam-Schwaetzer showed weaknesses by shying away from becoming leading candidate for the Düsseldorf state assembly.

The fact that she stepped down from the post of FDP general secretary, on the other hand, indicated her endeavour



to become more independent from the dominant influence of former party chairman Genscher.

Now, however, she again stands in Genscher's shadow as Minister of State at the Foreign Office.

This explains why she is particularly keen on remaining on good terms with Genscher, but of promoting her own image on the merit of her own abilities.

She could get entangled in a contradiction here.

As long as she retains the post in the Foreign Office and is unable to find any other post in the Cabinet it will be difficult to detach herself from Genscher's influence.

At the moment she may still benefit from the fact that she has such a powerful politician on her side; delegates who would normally given Genscher their vote may opt for Adam-Schwaetzer rather than Lambsdorff.

However, the trauma of dependence would become even more pronounced if people started suspecting that Adam-Schwaetzer was no more than Genscher's puppet.

If elected, therefore, Adam-Schwaetzer must break away from the Foreign Office and hence from the influence of her current superior there, Genscher.

As opposed to Lambsdorff, who can point towards plenty of experience as a Minister in Bonn and has rejected any desire to re-enter the Cabinet, Adam-Schwaetzer seems to feel that the leader of the FDP should also be a Cabinet member.

She has said this so often that it has now become a virtual commitment.

The decision-making bodies in the FDP, however, have reiterated that the party will be retaining the foreign policy, economics, justice and education portfolios for the rest of the current legislative term. The names of the Ministries were listed, but not of the Ministers.

There has never been any doubt that Genscher is to remain Foreign Minister, and that the Justice Minister should be an FDP politician from Bavaria.

The incumbent Justice Minister, Hans Engelhard, comes from Bavaria, as does presidium member, Josef Brunner.

The North Rhine-Westphalian Jurgen Möllemann would prefer to be Minister of the Interior rather than Education Minister, although if the FDP retains the Education portfolio Möllemann will probably retain this post.

The *Schaumburger Kreis*, a powerful faction in the FDP's parliamentary party in the Bundestag, would fight against any attempt to oust Möllemann from the Cabinet in favour of Adam-Schwaetzer. This leaves the Economics portfolio.

Lambsdorff has announced that he will recommend the party's current general secretary, Helmut Haussmann, for the job of future Economics Minister. Adam-Schwaetzer for her part has said that Haussmann remains "the first choice" — a statement which leaves open other possibilities.

She refrained from hinting at any kind of firm commitment.

The FDP's national executive to be elected at the October party congress will make the final decision on the which formation and which Ministers will line up for the general election campaign.

Adam-Schwaetzer apparently wants to keep the question of who is to succeed Bangemann as Economics Minister open as long as possible — just in case.

Genscher has already made it clear that, if elected party chairwoman, Adam-Schwaetzer would not be able to remain Minister of State in the Foreign Office he heads.

He regards such a construction as legally and politically impossible.

Yet another contradiction: Adam-Schwaetzer is just as keen on moving away from Genscher's influence as Genscher is on retaining his ability to pull the strings of party power.

She has to stick to her own guiding principle of refusing to talk about the allocation of Cabinet posts before the final decision has been taken, but has set the FDP general secretary Haussmann and part of the Baden-Württemberg section of the FDP against herself by talking about the possibility of becoming Economics Minister instead of Haussmann.

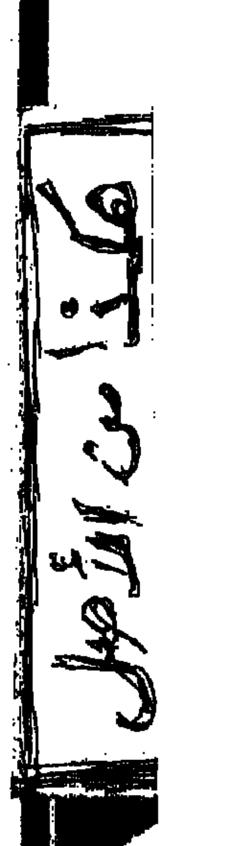
Questions concerning ministerial skills are also being raised.

Lambsdorff has called for a clarification of the situation as soon as possible.

Chancellor Kohl looks on to see who gets what in the coalition's junior partner.

Claus Gennrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 August 1988)



■ EUROPE

Now the jockeying begins for portfolios in the new Brussels Commission

Jostling for portfolios in the next European Commission is already in full swing.

The decision on the allocation of posts is due on 5 January, 1989, and most observers expect a night of the long knives.

The meeting will be chaired by the president of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, whose presidential term was extended by two years (until the end of 1990) during the June summit meeting of the European Council in *Hanover*.

Apart from Delors there are 16 other Commission members.

Delors, a former Economics and Finance Minister, is known to be keen on retaining responsibility for the Community's monetary policy.

There are plenty of contenders for the other portfolios.

According to the Treaty of Rome the European Commission has sole responsibility for the allocation of portfolios — without the influence of respective governments, which appoint Commission members "by agreement" but are not allowed to lay down stipulations or issue directives for the performance of their duties.

What is more, the Commissioners are also not allowed to heed such directives. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the governments of Community member states have a considerable say in the course of

Bremer Nachrichten

action taken by individual Commission members.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl would reputedly like to see the still incumbent Economics Minister and FDP chairman Martin Bangemann take over the European Community Internal Market with Tax Policy portfolio.

Bangemann would then sit in a key position with respect to the 1992 internal-market-for-Europe project.

The former successful Euro-MP and less fortunate Economics Minister Bangemann, however, is reputed to have said that concentrated desk work with lots of files, facts and figures is not among his most favourite pastimes.

His sights are said to be set on the portfolio "External Relations and Community Trade Policy", which confers the status of a "Community Foreign Minister".

The current office-bearer, the former Belgian Finance Minister Willy de Clercq, has to step down because of domestic policy pressures in Belgium. He will probably be replaced as Community Commissioner by the Flemish socialist Karel van Miert.

However, Dutchman Frans Andriessen is also known to be keen on the external relations portfolio. As a former Dutch Finance Minister he also has many points in his favour.

Apart from Delors, Adriessen ranks as the "strong man" of the current European Commission, whose four-year term runs out at the end of the year.

Many Eurocrats in Brussels would have liked to have seen an extension of the term of office of the British Commissioner responsible for internal market policy, Lord Francis Arthur Cockfield, *up until the completion of the* planned internal market in 1992/1993.

The fact that the still very nimble-minded 71-year-old lord was recalled by the British Prime Minister is interpreted as an indication of the fact that Lord Cockfield had become "too European" in his insistence for concrete steps forward in Europe and criticised the behaviour of the British government too often and too clearly.

The vehement criticism recently levelled against Commission president Delors by Margaret Thatcher because he emphasised the need for at least some kind of Community government during the 1990s, together with the "Iron Lady's" clear rejection of the goal of a political union, came as a surprise to the other Community governments.

Many Community experts now suspect that the appointment of her "protegé" and "confidant", 49-year-old Leon Brittan, as Community Commissioner instead of Lord Cockfield means that "Maggie" wants someone to act as a "brake block" in Brussels.

The fact that London has also recalled Britain's second Commissioner, Labour politician Stanley Clinton Davis, who established a good reputation as Transport and Environment Commissioner, also came as a surprise.

It is still not clear which portfolio London and Leon Brittan himself actually wants.

Brittan, who resigned as head of the Department of Trade and Industry in January 1986 after assuming the political responsibility for the Westland affair, ranks as one of the pioneer and convinced pro-Europeans in the conservative camp.

This explains why many British Eurocrats in Brussels find it difficult to believe that he is supposed to exert a retardant influence in the Belgian capital.

The Greeks, who chair the Community during the second half of 1988, have come up with a positive surprise — some people say "sensation".

By nominating the 43-year-old socialist politician Vasso Papandreou (not related to the Prime Minister of the same name but a long-standing member of the government and co-founder of the Pasok Party) Athens will be sending a first-class economics expert to Brussels.

At present, she is deputy Minister for Industry, Research and Technology.

Greece demands a major portfolio and the post of a vice-president (the European Commission has six vice-presidents).

The Commission vice-presidents earn roughly DM26,000 a month (net earnings) — a handsome salary.

An "ordinary" Community Commissioner receives DM2,500 less, whereas the president of the Commission pockets DM28,500. *Hans-Peter Ott*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 11 August 1988)

Euro-MP's pay: some more and some less

The path towards greater cooperation in Europe is initially a costly affair. Ask Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl, however, has repeatedly emphasised, and German industry keeps on hoping, that in the end the Community's internal market will pay off for the Germans.

Europe is certainly already paying off for the 81 German members of the European Parliament. And not just for the German members.

The Euro-MPs from the other member states also reap the benefits of the high salaries paid in Brussels, despite the disparity in income levels for parliamentarians in the more prosperous European countries and their poorer cousins elsewhere.

The demand forwarded by Euro-Socialist Horst Seefeld, however, for "equal pay for equal work" hardly stands a chance of being accepted. No-one wants harmonisation down to an income mean.

Furthermore, British Euro-MPs dare not risk bringing home more pay than their parliamentary colleagues in London.

It is difficult to find out exactly how much a member of the European parliament earns.

Although it is not an item of classified information the level of remuneration is dealt with very confidentially.

According to the official regulations, the 518 Euro-MPs receive the same basic monthly salary as their parliamentary colleagues back home.

This basic salary is paid for in the currencies of the respective countries by the budgets of the national parliaments. The Greeks, therefore, receive drachmas and the Dutch guilders.

All other costs, expenses or allowances are financed by the budget of the European Parliament and are paid out in the artificial European currency, Ecu (at present: 1 Ecu = DM2.086).

These payments are the same for all Euro-MPs regardless of whether their place of abode is Strasbourg, an Aegean island, Ireland or Sicily.

Every month the Euro-parliamentarians receive: roughly DM7,000 for secretarial costs; a lump sum expenses allowance of DM4,300 (rent, telephone and constituency visiting costs); an allowance of about DM300 for overnight accommodation and food costs (for every day on which there is a plenary, parliamentary group or committee session).

Allowances and expenses are tax-free. As in most member countries, the Euro-MPs travel free of charge on public transport.

There are, however, tremendous differences in the basic salary levels.

The 81 Italian Euro-MPs, for example, top the salary charts with a monthly income of DM12,128, many times higher than the monthly earnings of the tailenders from Portugal (DM1,616).

French Euro-MPs take second place (DM10,213) and the German members of the European Parliament earn a basic salary of about DM8,760 (third place in the salary ranking).

The differences are extreme, but difficult to quantify exactly due to the var-

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■ PERSPECTIVE

Peace institute reveals the price of Gulf War — in lives and dollars

In eight years of relentless bloodshed the Gulf War has cost 1.5 million lives and an estimated $27bn in arms sold to Iran and Iraq alone, says the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sipri).

This figure does not include the cost of enormous quantities of small arms, ammunition and parts bought by the two belligerents.

Over this period their military expenditure is estimated by Sipri to have totalled between $168.5bn and $203.6bn.

Iran is said to have spent between $9bn and $10bn a year, or five to six per cent of GNP, and Iraq between $11bn and $13bn, or 25 to 30 per cent of GNP.

These figures were announced when the 1988 Sipri yearbook was published.

According to the material compiled by the Stockholm institute, which probably has the best data bank there is on the international arms trade, Iraq has bought about $24bn worth of military hardware in the past eight years, with the Soviet Union ($11.5bn) and France ($6.8bn) as its main suppliers.

The Khomeini regime is said by Sipri research scientists to have set greater store by "labour-intensive war technology." It bought arms worth about $3bn, mainly from China, which supplied 53 per cent, followed by North Korea, with seven per cent.

China supplied bothbelligerents with aircraft (Mig 19 and Mig 21 look-alikes), tanks, field guns and missiles.

Other countries that for political reasons preferred to do no business with the belligerents supplied other countries in the crisis region, especially Saudi Arabia and the Gulf emirates, which spent an aggregate $20bn on strengthening their armed forces between 1980 and 1988.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Their foremost suppliers, Sipri says, were the United States, which exported arms worth $9.2bn, France, $6.1bn, Britain, $2.3bn, and the Federal Republic of Germany, $900m.

International arms trade studies have traditionally been a Sipri research speciality.

Since Walther Stützle, head of planning at the Bonn Defence Ministry from 1976 to 1982, took over as head of Sipri just over two years ago there has been clear evidence of efforts to play a more serious role in the international expert debate on arms control, disarmament and international security.

Under Herr Stützle's British predecessor, Blackaby, Sipri at times limited itself to criticising the mechanism of the arms race along largely unpolitical lines as a threat to international security and to setting great store by the "peace movement."

Sipri has surmounted what often used to be a perceptible lack of contact with political decision-makers in East and West.

Marshal Akhromeyev, chief of the Soviet general staff, has for instance been invited to deliver the second Olof Palme Memorial Lecture at the end of September.

This change of direction is also reflected in new research projects, one of which deals with whether international security might be conceivable without nuclear weapons.

That is a question Sipri would, in the past, have been most unlikely to ask in this manner.

Another project, headed by Lt-Gen. Wachter, latterly head of the Bundeswehr's Army Office, is dealing with the stability of conventional forces in Europe and looking into possibilities of "non-provocative" defence.

In a further project the hypothetical question asked is what political, military and economic consequences a US withdrawal from Europe might have.

The 1988 yearbook, which continues despite the many other publications to be Sipri's "flagship," similarly testifies to the reorientation.

It is more clearly arranged, subdivided into four main sections: arms and technology, military expenditure and arms trade, developments in arms control and special contributions.

Its value to the user has been considerably enhanced by the way in which information has been compiled and evaluated.

A keynote of the 1988 yearbook, which deals mainly with developments in 1987, is the signing by America and Russia of the INF Treaty on the scrapping of medium- and short-range nuclear missiles, which rates a separate entry that includes the full treaty text.

Other contributions outline, in detail and in commentary, the course of strategic arms negotiations and the various difficulties besetting future talks on a stable conventional balance in Europe.

In the introduction Herr Stützle rates the INF Treaty a major political event but a fairly minor one in military terms.

Mr Gorbachov, he writes, was able to rectify to great political effect and at low cost a "grave mistake" made by Brezhnev and Gromyko.

They both misjudged the consequences of the Soviet striving for strategic parity with the United States and for nuclear superiority in Europe.

Herr Stützle circumspectly wonders whether the new political climate of East-West relations will lead to further progress in disarmament.

He mentions the many difficulties that remain to be solved in the proposed negotiations on conventional forces.

The Western alliance, he notes is "built round an ocean," whereas the the Warsaw Pact is an alliance of land powers, with the result that interests are partly at odds within the two pacts.

As long as agreement has yet to be reached on a mandate for conventional disarmament negotiations a Start treaty will not be signed and differences in interpretation of the ABM Treaty will persist.

So despite the many hopeful signs it remains doubtful whether a new era of disarmament talks has really dawned in which arms will be genuinely reduced and not merely thinned out.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 August 1988)

43 years without hostilities — the best run since 1871

Germany has been at peace for 43 years, the longest uninterrupted period since the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71.

The news, involving a little mental arithmetic and a brief glance at the calendar, comes as a slight surprise but is no longer registered with any great emotion.

Peace reigned from 28 January 1871, when Paris capitulated, to 1 August 1914, when the First World War was declared.

The Great War arguably did not reach its greatest extent until three years later when, on 6 April 1917, the United States entered the war.

Yet peace reigned for 43 years and Europe attained an unprecedented degree of industrial wealth and extent of colonial influence.

European flags flew over colonial empires over which, as had earlier been said of the Habsburg empire, the Sun never set.

This pre-World War I peace had its fair share of sheet-lightning, of inner unrest to go with all its scientific and technological creativity, of national ambition and of Bismarck's *cauchemar des coalitions*, or nightmare fear of coalitions.

It has now been exceeded by the post-World War II peace. Germany has yet to sign a peace treaty and is divided into two states. In neither of them do the Germans live at peace with themselves.

Yet since 8 May 1945 there has been no war, with only an occasional shot being fired from the emplacements that run from end to end of Germany and through the middle of Berlin.

The United States and the Soviet Union, the foremost of the four wartime allies whose forces met in the heart of Germany, have not enjoyed the blessing of this lasting peace.

The Americans fought to a standstill in Korea, then in Vietnam, while the Russians defended the pax sovietica in Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia to the west and waged war in Afghanistan to the east.

France for that matter has fought wars in Vietnam and Algeria, while Britain went to war over the Falklands, for instance.

So this longest peace does not apply to all European countries. It is truer to say that for 43 years Europe itself has not been the theatre of a war between the great powers, dynamite enough though there may have been.

In return for the decline and fall of the German Reich this country has enjoyed a privileged position — or, again more correctly, the Federal Republic of Germany.

Due to favourable circumstances we Germans have attained a position that represents a threat to the very survival of old ideas and concepts.

Forty-three years ago world power depended on a country's geopolitical dimensions and political standing; today it is more a matter of economic power.

Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany, have-nots after the First World War and losers of the Second, have emerged alongside the United States as world powers in this latterday sense of the term.

Future historians may decide that this was one of the main reasons for the long peace that has reigned in Europe.

Sensitive souls may feel it is unfeeling to suggest that the Federal Republic of Germany's rise to (economic) world power status would not have been possible without the Cold War, which began in 1947 and is now, over 40 years later, past history apart, that is, from residual fortifications from end to end of Germany.

Is war, and be it Cold War, the heart of the matter after all?

The 1948 deutschemark currency reform and its implementation in Berlin nearly triggered a hot war between East and West. It took US resolution to avert a full-scale clash.

Were it not for this American determination the economic reform of Western Europe, from Marshall aid to the European Community, would not have made headway.

Western Europe would, instead, have felt itself to be a mere appendage of the Eurasian land-mass, and not just geographically.

It would have stayed where it was and been captured by others. This is a point people today fail sufficiently to appreciate.

The Cold War was not invented by the West; it was a challenge the West chose to take up. It led to the establishment of Nato, which could not have survived without the Federal Republic of Germany. Conversely, the North Atlantic pact not only provided protection from imperial inroads; it also established the leeway within which economic power and technological creativity were able to come into their own.

When the coat-tail of history swished the Germans were quick to catch hold of it, with the result that today's international economic system would be inconceivable without them.

They are even in a position to bring it tumbling down by refusing to play ball. The resulting responsibility at times surpasses their understanding and will power.

As one of the world's three leading economic powers they must share responsibility for the Western alliance, for European integration and, last but not least, for Germany.

In historical and human terms 43 years of peace is a long period. Yet we have rightly been reminded at regular intervals that peace cannot be considered safe and sound as long as the division of Europe, brought about and maintained by the use of force, continues.

Patient diplomatic work aimed at eliminating this division and, into the bargain, restoring national unity is one of the political regulatory tasks facing Germans who have come into their own in more ways than one.

This work is called for in the North Atlantic pact, in the European Community and in relations with the East.

Political order is a peacetime target, but not one that can necessarily be achieved without risk, as the course of 43 years of peace in Europe has shown.

Herbert Kremp

(Die Welt, Bonn, 30 July 1988)

■ FINANCE

Making money pay its way in overseas investments

Not so long ago there was a great outcery about Americans supposedly buying up German industry.

American executives, supported by the strong American dollar, were going round went with thick chequebooks and buying up whatever they could — plant, shareholdings and entire firms.

This has now changed. America, once the greatest creditor nation, has become the biggest debtor nation in the world.

The fact is that direct German investment abroad has exceeded foreign investment in Germany for a long time. The export of capital has now exceeded all previous levels.

In the first half of this year alone, 70 billion marks went overseas. How much of a role does affluence play?

Incomes are increasing but profits are increasing more sharply. And the cost of living has remained stable — in the case of food, it has even dropped.

This price stability is partly the reason why, at the end of the month, there is cash left over from pay packets.

So it is not surprising that Germans, always keen savers, have piled up 2,400 billion marks in cash savings. This is quite apart from investment in such things as property.

It is estimated that 80 per cent of this cash is earning interest somewhere. This means it is increasing by about 100 billion marks a year.

Where does the money go? Compared with earning possibilities abroad, interest rates on German capital market and yields on investment in Germany are not high. So, is it better to go abroad with the cash? Many people and firms think so.

It is certainly a gross exaggeration to talk of a flight of capital stimulated for instance by the discussion over the planned withholding tax (under which, the practice of taxing interest on savings, ignored for years by convention, is to be enforced through a tax at source — for example, at banks).

There are, of course, always people who wanting to invest abroad, away from the tax man, for shady reasons.

Equally, it is certain that many international investors who have had their money for years in Germany are now making a lot of money by selling — the mark is not likely to be revalued upwards, so the chances of an easy killing in the foreseeable future no longer exist.

German investors know that involvement abroad will pay off because of the rising dollar.

IDW (Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft) an economic institute whose views are usually similar to employers organisations, says that investors would sooner invest in "foreign" capital goods than in local machinery or plant.

The reverse of this is the German reluctance to invest. Cash that moves abroad is no longer available for investment at home in, say, plant and machinery.

In view of the liberalisation of financial markets, it is impossible to halt the export of capital. So investment at home must be made to appear more rewarding and the difference between German and foreign interest rates reduced.

But there can be no question of halting the capital outflow in the foreseeable future. German financial institutions have adjusted to this trend and are urgently building up their advisory services for shares (that earn a lot of commission) and investments. Even small banks boast about their round-the-clock contacts with international money markets.

All institutions, particularly savings banks and ordinary banks, which have a lot of catching up to do, have recognised that financial houses that do not offer their customers a comprehensive investment service will soon be out of the running.

Josef Rothe

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 16 August 1988)

The path to a service-industry society

Percentage of workers in:

	Production (farming, industry, construction)	Services (Trade, banking, insurances, transport etc.)
USA	30	70
Holland	31	69
Britain	33	67
Denmark	34	66
Sweden	34	66
France	39	61
Japan	42	58
Italy	43	57
Switz.	44	56
Germany	46	54
Austria	46	54
Spain	48	52
Greece	56	44
East Germany	58	42
Russia	59	41
Turkey	75	25
China	83	17

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Service industries are setting the pace, says report

Service industries are the most important contributors to economic growth.

In its monthly report the Bundesbank says that this sector is the only sector that is creating new jobs to any noticeable extent.

The bank's investigations reveal that service industries have created 740,000 extra jobs over the past four years, while in agriculture and manufacturing industries there has been a drop in the number employed.

There are 25.8 million working people in the Federal Republic. Fourteen million of these are employed in service industries, 10.4 million in manufacturing and 1.3 million in agriculture and forestry.

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The increase in the number of workplaces at banks, insurance companies, in trade, in transport and in communications technology has involved mainly women, according to the bank's report.

While in other sectors one in four jobs are taken up by women, in the service industries every second employee is a woman.

In the bank's view the service industries comply more with women's requirements at work than does industry, for instance.

There were 375,000 part-time jobs created between 1980 and 1987, with 362,000 of these created in service industries.

More jobs could have been created, according to the bank, but this was hindered by shop-closing hours, restrictive regulations governing insurance, rigid rules applied to the transportation of goods and merchandise and the Federal Postal Service's monopoly on telephone communications.

The service industries sector has

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embarked on the superb and historically indispensable process of integration by putting the cart before the horse.

The primacy of politics has been neglected for the sake of economics.

It is doubtful whether this mistake, made at the outset of bids to foster European cooperation, can now be rectified.

Not infrequently and not inaccurately, so-called good Europeans accuse the common market and the officials that run it from Brussels of doing less to unify Europe than to make it more uniform, to the detriment of the variety that makes Europe what it is.

There are only two ways of ending this unsatisfactory and dangerous state of affairs, and one of them is now probably no more than a theoretical possibility.

Reversion to full nation-state independence is ruled out. Not even Great Britain was able to take up this option, as the EEC referendum showed some years ago.

The other way of arguably ending the widespread dissatisfaction with Europe is the one Mrs Thatcher so fights shy of: setting up a United States of Europe and a central government with limited but clear responsibilities, mainly for foreign policy, defence and the economy.

In all other respects member-countries must retain and develop a maximum of separate identity under its own aegis, that being the only way to ensure that Europe remains European.

If no attempt is made to approach this ideal in reality, Europe can be expected, despite its enormous economic potential, to exhaust itself in national rivalry and forfeit the strength to influence the shape of wider international affairs.

Tiliacus

(Nurnberger Nachrichten, 16 August 1988)

■ THE TRADE UNIONS

Chemical workers preparing to throw several cats among the pigeons

The chemical workers' union, IG Chemie, is likely to cause heated debate within the union movement at its conference next month when its general secretary, Hermann Rappe, outlines a policy of cooperation with the employers instead of confrontation. Herr Rappe plans to say that European problems can only be solved by cooperation between both sides of industry and not by confrontation. Germany would need to remain an attractive industrial location if jobs are to remain safe. He plans to say that although regulations are important, the issue of the costs a company can stand must be considered. And "the idea of Germany as a research country which manufactures overseas is not in our interest." Ernst Günter Vetter reports for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.



Cooperation instead of confrontation... Hermann Rappe. (Photo: Werek)

When Hermann Rappe, general secretary of IG Chemie, the German chemical workers' union, opens his union's conference early next month, he will be aiming to demonstrate that it identifies itself with the industry in which its members work.

IG Chemie believes job security and creating new jobs depend on development of the industry. So this must be the target of trade union activity.

The union has repeatedly shown that far-reaching social headway can be made in concert with the employers.

The latest instance was a wage agreement eliminating distinctions between wage- and salary-earners, which has long been an objective of the working-class movement.

In pursuing this policy IG Chemie, as opposed to the radical wing of the DGB, Germany's trade union confederation, has encouraged those who are opposed to trade-union policies based on class struggle slogans, which it believes are out of place in the modern world.

The most striking instance of the new approach at the IG Chemie conference will be the main address, which for once will not be the usual statement of fundamental political principles by the general secretary.

It will be a speech by Professor Markl, president of the Scientific Research Association (DFG), on the future of the chemicals industry and the importance of scientific research and environmental protection.

Herr Rappe will make a short speech outlining the union's ideas on policy for the industry, with special emphasis on Europe.

IG Chemie aims to stake its claim to hold competent views on European policy and to demonstrate that union policy is geared to economic facts.

It's leaders feel they should express views and show signs of acting on these issues. Environmental problems are a tricky issue, especially for the chemicals industry, and special difficulties seem sure to arise in harmonising social policy in the European Community.

Herr Rappe plans to tell the conference that European problems can only be solved by cooperation between both sides of industry and will defy solution on a basis of confrontation.

IG Chemie feels Germany must remain an attractive industrial location if job security is to be maintained.

So the union advocates abiding by basic rules of environmental protection. The state, as a conference resolution to be presented by the national executive puts it, has a duty to establish a framework and support for entrepreneurial responsibility.

At the same time the government will be called on to negotiate uniform and comparable international safety and anti-trust regulations.

Herr Rappe says that no matter how desirable regulations might be, consideration must always be given, especially in the chemicals industry, to what further burdens companies can shoulder.

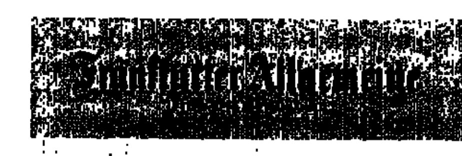
A crucial sentence in the executive's draft resolution reads: "We must remain internationally competitive."

Elsewhere in the resolution the point is made that, "the idea of Germany as a research country with manufacturing facilities mainly overseas is not in our interest."

IG Chemie's national executive sees "modern, future-orientated policy for industry" as a matter of even heavier investment, more intensive research and ensuring low-cost and environmentally acceptable energy supplies.

Offers of social partnership, or cooperation with the employers, are combined with demands for a greater say in management.

The union wants a greater say in development and research planning. Cooperation between scientific research and the chemicals industry urgently needs to be complemented by "constructive cooperation with the trade unions."



The union refers to an "identity of interest on chemicals policy issues" irrespective of "clashes of interest in other political sectors."

Industrial and economic interests are the employers' guiding criteria, whereas the employees' main concern is with a more humane and environmentally acceptable arrangement of working and living conditions.

There are so many differences of viewpoint, the union feels, that both sides of industry must talk together all the time and not start only when factories or entire sections of industry are in jeopardy.

A policy of long-term safeguards for an industry would provide a trade union with new fields of activity.

This testifies to the trade union's new view of its role. IG Chemie feels this change of role will make it much more attractive to people employed in the chemicals industry.

Half of them, as Herr Rappe says, are already white-collar workers, and their number will steadily increase. He says: "They are people who prefer a level-headed and objective approach."

He feels they can raise no more than a wan smile when faced by firebrand agitators. That is why he plans to cast IG Chemie in the role of a modern trade union no longer class struggle-orientated. He aims to make the union more attractive, especially for the growing numbers of salaried staff.

There can be no ruling out the possibility that this demonstrative proclamation of trade union policy based on cooperation with the employers will trigger heated debate in the DGB.

But Hermann Rappe has the political stature he may need to withstand what can often be aggressive attacks by left-wingers in the union movement.

He is a leading member of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), a member of the Bundestag and a so-called right-winger in the parliamentary party.

His policy of social partnership, particularly designed to appeal to professionally qualified employees, is aimed at a group of voters wooed by both the leading political parties.

The strength of his position within the SPD can be assessed in terms of the dispute with Saar Premier Oskar Lafontaine over shorter working hours.

Herr Lafontaine may to some extent have had economic logic on his side in the debate, but Herr Rappe persuaded the party to support the unions rather than Herr Lafontaine, arguing that the trade unions' reputation stood to derive anything but benefit from attacks from, of all quarters, SPD ranks.

On occasion trade union leaders have been known to point out that not long ago Herr Lafontaine took part in anti-nuclear protest marches alongside the Greens, called on the unions to stage political strikes against the stationing of nuclear missiles in Germany and advocated further industrial action unrelated to wage or welfare policy requirements.

Differences of opinion between Herr Lafontaine and the trade unions had thus prevailed on other grounds too.

Herr Rappe is well aware that too close ties between the trade union confederation and the Social Democratic Party would be inadvisable.

He appreciates the significance of the single, non-partisan, industrial union and would on no account want to see it diluted in any way.

Ernst Günter Vetter

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 August 1988)

Sales of veal and beef — and baby foods which contain either — have almost stopped because of calf doping. More than 4,000 calves which have been dosed with hormones, mainly oestrogen, have been destroyed and many thousands more will be. Freeing them to graze would only condemn them to a painful death because of their forced diet of milk from birth. Oestrogen, used as a fattening agent, is a hormone which can cause many illnesses in humans, including cancer. The fattening method — feeding plus hormone injections — is brutally simple, cruel and efficient. According to one description, calves are taken from their mothers after eight days and put in cowsheds where they are kept in tiny, dark cubicles where they can barely move. They are fed on thin milk which often causes diarrhoea. They are given medicine to dry them out. To keep them alive, they are connected to an intravenous drip, just like in an intensive-care ward. Without exercise, the animals grow larger and want more food, but they don't get any. Instead, the concentration of nutrients in the drip is increased. Then the calves are put on to a type of pudding-like food and, because they get nothing to drink, try to slake their thirst by eating more and more of it. To cause diarrhoea again, and intensify the thirst-inducing process, the pudding is heated to 38 degrees celsius (about 100 degrees Fahrenheit). This makes them sweat and they begin to itch. They lick their skin in desperate efforts to stop the itch and tear the hair out with their tongues. The hair goes into their stomachs, rots and produces poison. Because veal must be light coloured, the pudding contains little iron. The animals become anaemic, develop respiratory troubles and their circulation fails. Medicine again must be used to keep them alive until slaughter. One farmer called Felix Hying has been arrested, but a psychiatrist report says he is unfit to be held. Another, Bernhard Wigger, 55, is under investigation. Hying is said to have used a system of sub-contracting out massive numbers of animals to farmers. So far, 14,000 head belonging to him have been confiscated. Here, Christian Schütze reports for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and a vet, Dr Angela Settler, for the *Frankfurter Rundschau*.

■ CALF-FATTENING SCANDAL

Poisoned meat provokes consumer boycott; thousands of tortured animals destroyed

The North Rhine-Westphalia Environment Minister, Klaus Matthiesen (SPD), is on the trail of a sort of northern hormone Mafia.

It comprises operators of animal factories, veterinary surgeons, drug company representatives, feed suppliers and sundry other professionals.

Reports from Münsterland, the region around Münster, have a dramatic sound to them: 14,000 calves were confiscated after it was found that they had had their ear-markings removed, had been injected with hormones and had been smuggled into abattoirs.

Police are watching the 49 cowsheds of a calf-battery operator called Felix Hying. They are keeping count of the calves and making sure that the animals are being properly fed.

That is important: now that the gang can no longer use the animals to satisfy their greed — and not being people who are sentimental about animals — there is no telling what might happen.

Although this scandal is turning out to be the most sensational of its kind, it is nothing like unique. Its sheer "criminal energy," as Matthiesen put it, makes it different.

As always there is a lack of scientific information about the harmful effects on humans, humans and so questionable preparations and methods are used.

The list of offences is long, memory is short. Some of the more striking cases should be recalled.

At the beginning of the 1980s oestrogen was found in veal in several European countries. Several calf battery operators were given mild sentences.

In 1983 calves in Berlin were found to have been given trenbolon: 14,500 calves were confiscated from 57 bcowsheds in 1985 because they had an hormone capsule implanted behind the ear.

It was found that 12,000 had been treated in this way in Lower Saxony. The stock had been treated with the killer hormone "medroxi-progesteron acetate," used in medicine to bring on miscarriages in women.

In 1986 Bavarian veterinary surgeons were ringing the alarm bells. The illegal use of hormones in animal feed was common in Bavarian too.

In 1984 and 1985 the Bavarian authorities had repeatedly stated that Bavarian meat was clean.

Through a trick 132 confiscated calves were stolen from an official cold store and sold into the retail trade in 1986. And so on.

Under German pressure, the 12 EC member-states approved guidelines that from 1 January this year banned artificial and natural growth hormones in animal feed.

Resistance was considerable, particularly in Britain.

It is ironic that the first major infringement is here, the country which had been the keenest champion to forbid their use — or at least the country where the abuse has been uncovered.

It is also ironic that the scandal has happened at the same time the European Commission is complaining about German frontier controls, which in turn bring to light so much contaminated meat.

The EC again shows itself as the marketplace where others, either at a national or individual level, are being taken for a ride by commercial regulations.

But the matter does have its bright side. It has curbed the desire to eat meat. Even without hormone additives, too much meat is not healthy.

It leads to a lack of food in other countries, because for example, soya beans are grown instead of wheat for export as cattle feed to Europe. And tropical rain forests are cut down to create grazing land.

That results in more carbon dioxide, methane gas and the so-called hothouse effect.

The middle class passion for eating too much meat, because they can afford it, is helping vandalise the environment.

In this German scandal, the calves don't go near a meadow because that would stimulate the digestive system — and that is unnecessary from a profit-makers pointof view.

They are not allowed to move about because that uses up calories, and are subject to other bestialities devised by man.

The unsuspecting housewife, brought up on the myth that veal is the best there is, buys it. The hormone cocktail does not smell.

Producers fear huge losses because of the behaviour of the few. The butchers organisation warns against lumping all breeders together because of one individual. This was the line taken by Bavarian Agriculture Minister Simon Nüssel.

A single one? Let us just wait a little and follow the work of the Munsterland public prosecutor's office with close attention.

In any case, this huge crime against both consumer and animal demands more state controls and also that some valid lessons be drawn.

Christian Schütze

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 12 August 1988)

Double normal growth rate with only 80 per cent of the feed

A case where 14,000 calves are fattened up by hormone treatment — this is no isolated case, say people who know about battery farming.

They draw comparisons with drug-trafficking and believe similar detection methods should be used.

What is going on can be seen with the naked eye. A handful of organisations produce 90 per cent of German veal in calf battery operations.

They provide both the calves and the feed. The farmer provides the stalls, cleans out the liquid manure and looks after the animals.

When the calves are ready for slaughter, they are picked up and the farmer is paid.

Depending on whether he has had to have the stalls built or whether the operator transports away from the farm the liquid manure, the farmer gets DM180 per calf during two fattening-up periods per year.

At the abattoir the calves are worth between DM1,200 to DM1,400 each.

It is worthwhile for the operator to use hormones. Calves increase in size twice as fast per day as animals that are fed in a normal way, and they need 20 per cent less feed.

A small laboratory is given the order to prepare the hormone cocktail — it would be more appropriate to call the laboratory a wash-house.

The basics are prepared abroad. The hormones are distributed like drugs. The network is built up like a spider's web. The producer sits at the centre, around him the wholesalers, retailers and finally the hormone users.

As in drug-trafficking, only the small fry are caught. But there is a difference with the drug scene: the drug-user knows what he is consuming; the veal consumer does not.

There is no great risk of being caught. The cost of hormone detection apparatus is high. A small change in the combination is enough to puzzle a laboratory.

The latest cases shows how little hormone users fear discovery — the cocktail in the latest scandal is identical with the one in a scandal in Münster early this year.

That would have remained undiscovered if vets at the abattoir had not become suspicious when they saw injection marks — in this case the flesh had been irritated.

Now the question is being asked: what will be done with the products from the knacker's yard where Matthiesen has sent the 14,000 calves.

In another case in Bavaria a high concentration of hormones was found in milk powder, the only feed given to calves. These hormones were also found in the calves flesh.

How did they get there? Animal oil from a knacker's yard, experts concluded, was used by the manufacturer of the milk powder.

The milk powder came from Holland where producers are just as unscrupulous as here. For example, in the Netherlands hormones are injected into the animal's heart sac. The entrails usually go to the knacker's yard.

This got the farmers raising calves in Bavaria off the hook. It was assumed that the hormones found in the veal came from milk powder and the investigation by police vets was called off.

Veterinary officials, who are well aware of the criminal energy of the calf battery operators, believe nevertheless that the case could be explained quite differently.

The German calf battery operators could themselves have "enriched" the milk powder and they passed the buck to the authorities in order to deflect suspicion away from themselves — and with success for they were exonerated.

These battery operators are well known to veterinary service officials, of course. It is their view that Felix Hying was a kind of managing director — there is another person involved but this cannot be proved.

The mills of officialdom turn *slowly*, not only when it is a matter of using hormones but in the use of illegal substances generally.

What usually happens is: calves with suspected injection pricks, or other signs of the use of prohibited substances, are discovered in the abattoir. The animals are held and the owner notified.

It takes about a week to get test results and probably another week before the authorities receive the findings and visit the operator. Time enough to get rid of the evidence.

Experienced vets say that without a change in the way of handling cases, no progress will be made in hitting the problem.

It is too late to wait for suspected animals to turn up at the abattoir or to look for injection capsules on a farm after a tip-off. They have been disposed of or destroyed long before.

Lower Saxony is the only state where there has been any success. The official vets are supported by specialist crime squad. They can surprise feed operators concerned as they conceal the cases full of injection capsules under the trees.

Continued on page 15

■ RESEARCH

Chromodynamics of quarks and other heavenly tales



Scientists from all over the world were in Munich for the 24th international conference on high-energy physics.

The conference has been held annually since the 1950s in the United States, Europe, the Soviet Union and Japan in rotation.

It was held for the first time in the Federal Republic of Germany, organised by the Max Planck Institute of Physics and Astrophysics and Munich University.

About 1,000 scientists took part, invited by an organising committee headed by G. Buschhorn and K. Pretzl.

High-energy physics, better known in Germany as elementary particle physics, emerged in the early 1950s as an offspring of nuclear physics.

The microcosm was found to be much more complicated than had been believed.

Study of collisions of cosmic radiation particles at high speeds revealed the existence of a range of previously unsuspected elementary particles.

They were classified in accordance with specific principles of symmetry.

They are now known to consist of even smaller particles known as quarks, the elementary material of which atomic nuclei are made.

The aim of the Munich conference was to outline the state of research and to discuss the wide-ranging opportunities of further development.

Elementary particle physics has made substantial headway over the past decade. All forces observed in nature, gravity excepted, can now be explained in terms of what is known as the standard model.

This (theoretical) model includes the powerful forces within atomic nuclei that hold them together and the less powerful forces that cause radioactivity.

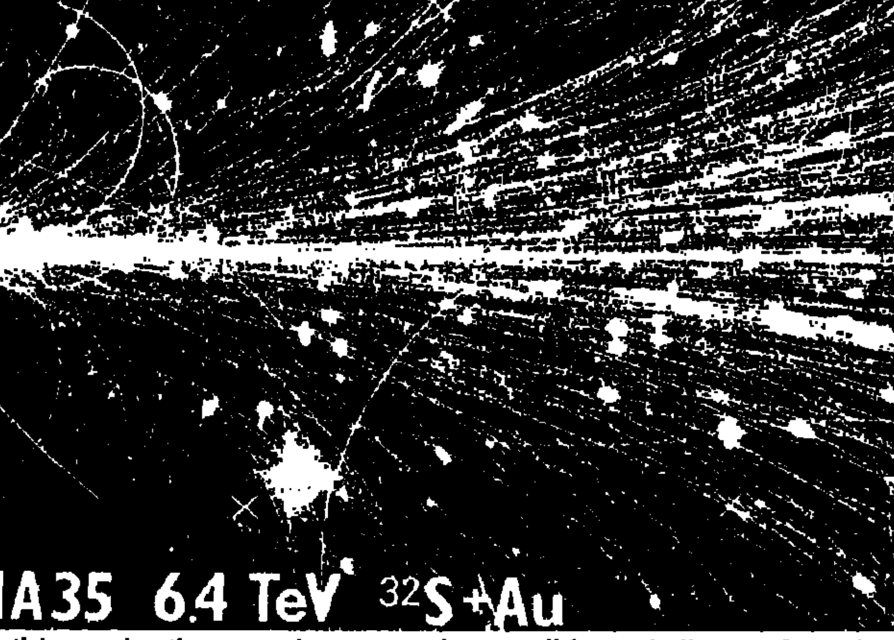
Matter is said to consist of electrons and other, related particles known as leptons (including neutrinos), and of quarks.

They interact, with quarks being caused by the exchange of special, power particles, photons in the case of electric power.

A focal point of the Munich conference was the reports made by a number of groups of research scientists on experiments dealing with the chromodynamics of quarks.

This theory has been found not only to account for the structure of nuclear particles but also to explain details of particle collisions.

They are studied at the highest available energy levels at the Fermi Laboratories near Chicago and at CERN near Geneva.



Particle-acceleration experiment creating conditions similar to those just after the Big Bang. (Photo: MPG)

Some collisions observed are head-on collisions between quarks. This doesn't happen often, but it keenly interests physicists because it helps them to clarify details of forces between quark and quark, as it were.

A striking similarity between experimental findings and theoretical forecasts has been noted. The forces that hold atomic nuclei together seem largely to have been established.

Research findings by nuclear physicists who have been studying collisions between particles at high speeds for a number of years, especially at CERN, near Geneva, were keenly discussed.

The aim of this research is to arrive at a new state of nuclear matter, its distinguishing feature being that individual nuclear particles no longer exist, only a superheated mixture known as chromoplasma.

The theory of chromodynamics forecasts the existence of this state of matter, albeit only at very high temperatures or under very high pressure.

According to the Big Bang theory of the origin of the Universe matter was in a state of chromoplasma immediately after the Big Bang.

It may also exist in the core of very large celestial bodies.

The findings of experiments undertaken at CERN indicate that a transitional state prior to chromoplasma may have been reached, but they are not yet conclusive.

Reports on the discovery of particles being converted into anti-particles at DESY in Hamburg and the Cornell Laboratory in the United States also triggered keen interest.

They were seen in connection with a recent discovery at CERN, where scientists noted a deviation from CP symmetry (C standing for charge and P for parity).

This symmetry used to be considered as being established in the transition from matter to anti-matter. The deviation was detected, for the first time ever, during the disintegration of elementary particles.

This not only confirmed a theoretical forecast of the uniform theory of electrical and weak forces; the slight deviation in CP symmetry observed at CERN may, it is felt, partly account for the existence of matter in space.

Were it not for this deviation from symmetry equal amounts of matter and anti-matter would be expected in space, and experience has shown this not to be the case.

Research reports by theoretical physicists concerned with speculation on the physical inter-relationship of elementary particles at energies much higher than have so far been reached were no less interesting.

They feel that a link between the present particle theory and the theory of gravitation laid down by Einstein early this century can only be established with reference to new, so-called super-symmetries.

The building blocks of matter, physicists go on to speculate, may not be punctiform particles but one-dimensional thread-shaped objects known as superstrings.

Other theorists imagine that leptons and quarks may consist of still smaller parts the existence of which could be demonstrated at the Lep and Hera particle accelerators under construction at CERN and DESY respectively.

It was clear for the first time at the Munich congress that there is a close link between elementary particle physics and astrophysics and cosmology.

The supernova that exploded in February last year in the Great Magellanic Cloud has provided particle physicists with a wealth of experimental data.

Once analysed they will prove invaluable in neutrino physics and, arguably, in the physics of other particles.

By means of what is already known about elementary particle physics the development of the Universe can be traced back to about 10 billionths of a second after the Big Bang.

Theoretical extrapolation makes it possible to reconstruct cosmological development from the Big Bang onward to this fraction of a second later.

Why, theorists have wondered, is the Universe today relatively regular and symmetrical?

The mathematical inter-relationships of today's Universe, including natural laws as now observed, are felt not always to have been valid.

They are surmised to have taken shape, after an extremely tempestuous and dynamic development, shortly after the Big Bang and an extremely chaotic state of affairs.

A superfast expansion of space, or "inflation" of the cosmos, is felt to have played a special part.

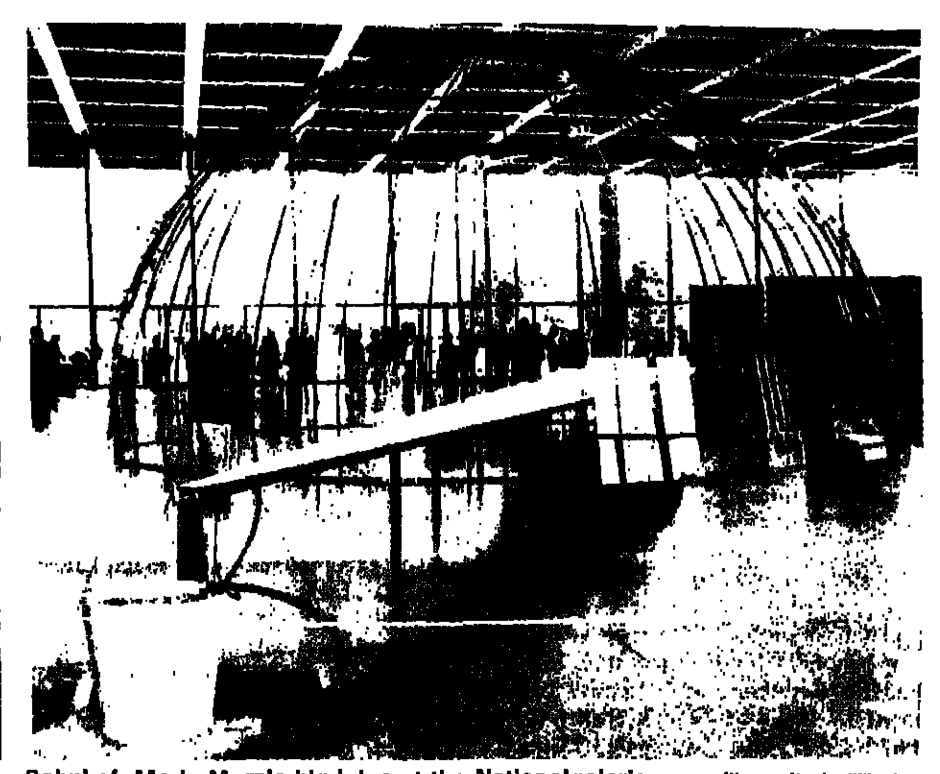
"What really interests me," Einstein once said, "is whether God had any freedom whatever in creating the world."

The physicists who met and conferred in Munich and discussed worlds very different from our own may one day arrive at an answer to Einstein's question.

Harald Fritzsch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 11 August 1988)





Culture 24 hours a day in Berlin: left, a Richard Serra exhibit at the Hamburger Bahnhof; Mario Merz's big igloo at the Nationalgalerie. (Photos: Binder/Thiele)

■ EXHIBITIONS

The ghosts of a bygone concourse hurry past a present which is timeless

Two exhibitions in West Berlin appear to complement each other in their approach, yet all sides maintain that there has been no cooperation. *Zeitlos* (Timeless) is housed in a disused railway station, Hamburger Bahnhof, with its faded ghosts of pre-war Berlin; the other is called *Positionen heutiger Kunst* (The State of Contemporary Art) in the Neue Nationalgalerie. Werner Rhode wrote the story for the *Frankfurter Rundschau.*

Berlin is an extremely ambitious cultural city, but the fancy title "Cultural City of Europe" is only something extra for 1988

There is culture 24-hours-a-day, most of it of an international mix, some of it official and chic; some of it from the fringe.

There is plenty of public money and some sponsors have willingly assumed "responsibility for the maintenance of liberal attitudes of the city," as one concert promoter put it.

This is an ideal material prerequisite from which the organisers of both central, summer exhibitions have profited.

Harald Szeemann, from Switzerland, who was commissioned by Berlin's senator for the arts, has put on the *Zeitlos* (Timeless) exhibition in the restored Hamburger Bahnhof (a railway station where trains used to leave for Hamburg before the war. It is now, amongother things, a transport museum).

Dieter Honisch, director of the Nationalgalerie, has put on the exhibition *Positionen heutiger Kunst* (The State of Contemporary Art). Both have generously decided to display what is good and expensive.

Internationally well-known artists have been in Berlin for weeks fitting their works of art into the ambience of the display rooms.

It has been said that there was no arrangement between the organisers. Each wanted to develop his own ideas independently.

It is purely accidental then that the sculptor Richard Serra, who works in steel and is admired on all sides, is represented in both exhibitions; that Cy Twombly is represented in the Nationalgalerie as a confident painter, with a collection of his early, grey pictures, and in the Hamburger Bahnhof as a sculptor (which he has been since 1955), with an ensemble of waste-wood sculptures painted white, that look to some extent ironic on their pedestals.

Also Mario Merz, the master of *Arte povera*, so rich in variation, appears twice as well; with a monumental igloo in the upper hall of the Nationalgalerie (a gripping contrast to the architecture of Mies van der Rohe) and a miniature igloo in the Hamburger Bahnhof show.

Are these parallel, complementary or competitive exhibitions? While the critical visitor puzzles over this senator for the arts Volker Hassemer has provided the solution.

He said: "Both exhibitions belong to one another." That is irrefutably plausible. That is perhaps more accurate in a sense than Hessemer thinks.

For both exhibition directors have refused to comply with the motto for Berlin's year as Europe's cultural city, "Berlin — City of Things New," for their own reasons.

It was as if Berlin had at last overcome the trauma of the 1982 exhibition "Spirit of the Times."

Szeemann and Honisch have given over their exhibition rooms to art that has long been valued, long available. They both look back into the 1960s and 1970s.

These exhibitions in Berlin offer for inspection something of art history together with the history of sculpture. With a resounding exception in the Nationalgalerie.

In the American Room there, of all places, which usually attracts admirers of rational-meditative painting coloured sectionally, works by Frank Stella from the late 1980s let off steam.

It is well known that Stella, a strong as well as brilliant pioneer of "Shaped Canvas" art is an artist with an effervescent enthusiasm for change; but it is astonishing to hear that he claims Caravaggio as one of his progenitors, letting his enthusiasm for neo-baroque explode in a brutal motley of wall reliefs.

The Düsseldorf art dealer Hans Strelow has expertly provided a guide to the Stella Room in the exhibition catalogue. This room is almost ominous for the idea of "City of Things New."

Dieter Honisch gave thought to the art market star Anselm Kiefer in his subjective exhibition *Positionen*, but Kiefer was not able to participate, "on technical grounds," as they say.

The Nationalgalerie is currently home simultaneously for "only" six one-man shows; apart from Merz, Serra, Stella and Twombly, there is the Greek from Rome, Jannis Kounellis, and the Korean Nam June Paik, who lives in New York and Düsseldorf, a music-fluxus video artist.

Kounellis produces massive, mysterious works for the wall, made of steel plates, iron, sacking, sewing machines and flaming gas cartridges, that awaken historical-mythical associations.

Nam June Paik introduced his "Family of the Robot," a magnificent group of anthropomorphic assemblages made of



a variety of electronic, perpetual burners.

The display includes his comment: "Televison has for a long time attacked our lives — now we are hitting back."

Is this then vicious social and media criticism? No, this shimmering family is nothing more than comical, temperate, ironic fooling about.

The *Positionen heutiger Kunst* exhibition, with its contemporary aspect going back a few decades, extensively caters for visitors who want to fill in the visual gaps. But it is not so startling that one can easily forget what it has displaced.

Dieter Honisch had to make room for the summit meeting of his chosen "Mover and Stabilisor" artists, as he calls them. The Nationalgalerie's prime collection, that is well worth seeing, has been reduced to a rump display and it is currently closed, "due to re-building." In fact a new carpet is being laid.

Szeemann does not have these problems. He was so delighted by the renovated Hamburger Bahnhof, "a splendid, profane cathedral with three naves, bathed in day-light," that he immediately invited 32 international artists to show their works in this opulent museum, including many who are tried and tested members of his "tour team."

The choice here is, of course, also subjective. But it is not always clear why some names were chosen. They could be replaced by other names, artists whose work would be much more enlightening.

There are bizarre artistic banners in the front garden, golden polyester flags from the inevitable James Lee Byar on both towers of the Bahnhof, and in the entrance hall eight palm-tree tubs in memory of Marcel Broodthaer (not the plants of 1982 from Bern; these come from Berlin's Botanical Gardens).

The first impression of old-new splendour is quickly dissipated in the rooms after the entrance hall.

There are minimal and country artists who are very sober in tone, even when there are new variations of their classical concepts.

There is Carl Andre and Sol LeWitt, Donald Judd and Richard Long, as well as Joseph Beuys whose "Fond IV/4" of 1979 is on display, lovely and still exciting, David and Royden Rabinowitch, Serra, Imi, Knoebel, Willi Kopf from Vienna and Wolfgang Laib, with two fine areas strewn with pollen and a wooden hide-out, which is covered with beeswax plates.

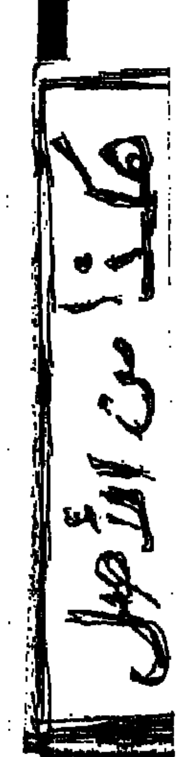
The particular attraction here is the assembldge of these works together, and particularly their being on display in this splendid one-time station concourse as well as in the side rooms and the stretches of fallow room-space.

It is worth visiting these rooms for they include works by Daniel Buren, Ulrich Rückriem and Inge Mahn for instance, and it is interesting to see how they have used the realities of space there.

And one should not forget the two sole paintings of this four-dimensional exhibition, two "white" oil paintings by the American Robert Ryman, of "art concrete" fame, hung in a bright transom.

It is a late consequence of the "Spirit of the Times" exhibition of 1982, that Szeemann has decked out this "powerful demonstration, even manifestation of silence," which he himself enthuses

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■ FRANKFURT BOOK FAIR

Umberto Eco sets trend: Italian authors hauled on to the German bandwagon

The special theme of this year's Frankfurt Book Fair is to be Italian literature; 33 Italian writers are expected to attend.

Most German fiction and poetry publishers have Italian titles in their lists. We can look forward both to discovering new authors and encountering familiar ones.

Yet only a few years ago, few publishing houses were prepared to give Italian literature any kind of a chance. It was too risky.

Even novels by as well-known an author as Alberto Moravia were selling an average of just 3,000 copiese each. Books by Leonardo Sciascia, who sells well today, were unsuccessful.

A 1982 survey revealed that publishers were overwhelmingly pessimistic about the future of Italian literature translated into German.

But all market forecasts were quickly upset in 1982 when Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* appeared in German.

Almost three million copies of this crime novel set in a Benedictine monastery in mediaeval times have been sold.

This set the trend. Others followed: Italo Calvino, Antonio Tabucchi and Andrea De Carlo have become well-known in Germany.

So, how important are these authors who are now getting this praise? The question is being asked: "How many significant Italian novelists of the 20th century are there in fact?"

To get some idea of a particular author, one has to look through the book lists of several publishers.

The publication of works by Pier Paolo Pasolini or Cesare Pavese are more often than not a matter of chance; the question of the chronological order of their writings does not come into it.

Only definitive editions of the complete works of the "great" are published,

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

such as Luigi Pirandello or Italo Svevo. Nevertheless Italian literature is being discussed. Italian books account for three per cent of translations on the German book market. It does represent an interest in Italian but, compared to translations from English and French, it is insignificant.

There are so few novels published in this country that one can be forgiven for looking elsewhere.

Unlike other literary fads there is a steadfast core of public interest in the Federal Republic for Italian literature.

This core is recruited less from the educated classes, who know Alessandro Manzoni and perhaps Pirandello, than from those circles, which in the 1950s, when they were young readers, were looking for a figure with whom to identity and anti-heros against the optimism of the previous generation of the post-war reconstruction era.

Cesare Pavese was just the writer for this, a man who in 1950 had become wearied by "the business of life" and had tried to commit suicide.

His writing orginated from the dispute with fascism and took up the central cultural theme in Italy at that time, the depiction of the clash between town and country.

Pavese's characters were outsiders, seekers and stragglers. He found a natural setting for their dreams in the hills of Piedmont. They were cut off from society in the big cities.

Their language was dialect and consciously terse. This was a deliberate decision against traditional literary Italian, which was dear to fascism in the rhetorical excesses of Gabriele D'Annunzio.

Pavese's model was the laconic style of the American novel. In a lengthy process Pavese and Elio Vittorini created an unpretentious literary language, establishing neo-realism.

The rejection of tradition is more thorough in Italian literature than for example in German literature. The basis of this is the search for new modes of expression and the opening up of other means of communication.

Nevertheless neo-realism was hit by crisis at the end of the 1950s. It's ideological impulses levelled off.

The "man of the people," hero of so many resistance and post-war novels, was no longer the protagonist of history but a production line worker at Fiat.

Italy's ultimate change into an industrial society thrust literature into deep crisis.

Pier Paolo Pasolini became the apologist for this crisis. He complained about cultural levelling out to which Italy, once so regionally varied, fell prey. He also pointed out the role the mass media, radio and television, had played.

Only the film was useful, with its neo-realistic tradition. In the film a residue of cultural identity could be retained in a mass consumer society through the careful selection of patterns of language usage.

As a result, at the beginnings of the 1960s, Pasolini turned inevitably to the cinema, although his films are not easy to decipher. They attracted more attention than his writings, which were mainly narratives written in the dialects of the Rome suburbs.

But in Germany Pasolini's life and the circumstances surrounding his death attracted more attention than his writings.

If the crisis in the Italian novel was not so clear at the beginning of the 1960s this was due to one book. It was an international sensation for Italian literature and became even more famous when it was made into a film by Visconti. The novel was *The Leopard* by Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa.

Giuseppe di Lampedusa, a wealthy Sicilian prince, did not have much time for modern Italian literature. He complained about its provinciality and rhetorical, affected attitudes. He looked for his models among the great French realist novelists of the 19th century.

This resulted in an historical novel in which the Sicilian aristocracy, that had sunken into historical obscurity, once more stood out in nostalgic splendour.

Anyone who is perhaps not well acquainted with Italian literature recalls, perhaps, the impressive character of Prince Salina, thanks to the film version of the novel with the Prince played by Burt Lancaster.

The nobleman consciously and nonchalantly bowed out from inexorable progress, an attitude which for many, who do not stand at anyone else's command, is seductive.

During the 1970s, in the wake of Lampedusa's successful novel, there was an increased accent on literature from southern Italy. Many of these books became well-known through being filmed.

Carlo Levi's bannishment to Lucania in 1935-1936 was the subject of his *Christ stopped at Eboli*. This book was first made known to us through the film version by Francesco Rosi with Gian Maria Volonté in the main role.

Then the Sardinian Gavino Ledda was made famous by the Taviani brothers who filmed his autobiography with success, a book that is a story about the fight against illiteracy.

The cultural backwardness of southern Italy, complained about so often, left open here "zones of sincerity," which was fascinating to a large public, including tourists.

Leonardo Sciascia has made a name for himself as a mediator between the two worlds of northern and southern Italy.

Literature was given a shot in the arm, however, when a man came on the scene, who had preserved sufficient of the poetic energy of neo-realism to be able to cope, at least satirically, with the changes of the 1950s. Resignedly and cheerfully he took stock of what literary resources remained.

The man was Italo Calvino who, in 1979, a few years before his death, published *Se una notte d'inverno un viaggiatore*, which was such as success.

At one point in the novel the main character, Ludmilla, says: "The novel that I would like to read most of all... must have as its driving force a pleasure in narration and an accumulation of stories, without forcing you to a world view, simply with the intention of letting you take part in its growth, like a tree, a rampancy of branches and leaves..."

Calvino also told his readers: "You have had enough of pages of intellectual corrosion, analytically tearing everything into tatters. You dream of returning to reading what is natural, innocent, original." But that is difficult in an era when there are no longer any novels.

Through the whole book Calvino leaves his reader together with Ludmilla in a vain search throughout literature for such a book.

The writer becomes an accomplice with the reader, who with him searchs for a way out for the crisis of the novel.

Calvino is an honest writer. He does not give the reader the illusion that such a novel could be found.

What is left to the reader is a delight in narration and in reading a book reflecting the dialectic of life and work, from which something now can always emerge, and at the same time a variety of artistic modes of expression can be used without reservation beside one another.

In this manner the way is cleared for a new creativity, for toying with forms of tradition and of one's own imagination, into which the more the author retires the more the reader must, or can, become active.

The fear possible readers have of embarking on something new, confronted with literature, is reduced in this way. The limitations of entertainment and mass-produced literature would at last be pierced.

So can books, even bestsellers, be constructed, as Eco has brilliantly demonstrated to us.

Dorothea Zeisel

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 5 August 1988)

Exhibitions

Continued from page 10

about, with the soppy, commonplace title *Zeitlos*.

Szeemann himself talks of "a continuation" or "a pendant," adding to be on the safe side, that the exhibition and its title "is not intended to evoke a fine image," as many would like to believe.

This is the live-and-let-live side of the art world. [illegible] designers are kind to one another, they do not do each other harm, not in public at least.

But visitors are pained by Szeemann when they dip deeply into his exhibition catalogue after they have walked round his show.

What an aggravating contrast! There are simple, clear works of art in the bright rooms.

The catalogue is written bombastically, as are the explanatory texts.

Szeemann must have had a brainwave when he wrote: "Only artists were preferred for *Zeitlos* whose works speak for themselves."

Werner Rhode

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 August 1988)

Euro MPs' pay

Continued from page 4

ying levels of taxation in Community member states.

In Belgium, for example, the income of the Euro-MPs (approx. DM8,000) is taxed in accordance with the regulations for the self-employed — roughly 50 per cent.

Following the deduction for social welfare contributions the Italian Euro-MPs have to even tax 70 per cent. The members from Spain and Greece, on the other hand, have virtuallly tax-free incomes.

Despite their handsome remuneration many Euro-MPs from the high-income countries such as Germany or Italy keep on complaining, even though though the money they receive for costs, expenses and allowances is increased annually in accordance with the Community's average inflation rate (this time by three per cent).

They are annoyed at the fact that colleagues from the lower-income countries such as Portugal or Greece can afford to employ at least one and a half members of secretarial staff whereas they can only get one qualified employee for the same amount.

They also claim that the strength of the D-mark and the depreciation of the Ecu against the German currency (from DM2,40 to just under DM2) are additional detrimental factors.

Admittedly, in view of the fact that there is hardly a week in which the European Parliament is not in session the Euro-MPs could, if necessary, "cash in" on their daily allowances.

Horst Stein

(Die Welt, Bonn, 3 August 1988)

THE ENVIRONMENT

O stands for ozone, H for hothouse and D for disaster

Süddeutsche Zeitung

O is for ozone and S for September, the month in which Antarctic winter ends and the ozone gap opens wide, increasingly jeopardising life on Earth because ultraviolet radiation from the Sun is no longer adequately filtered in the upper atmosphere.

Last year the ozone gap was wider and lasted longer than ever. Its possible repercussions are no secret. Scientists have warned for years against using fluorochlorohydrocarbons, or halogen-based spray gas.

The quadrennial ozone symposium has just been held in Göttingen by the Max Planck Aeronomy Institute, Lindau/Harz, and Göttingen University.

They organised the symposium, held every four years since 1948, on behalf of the International Ozone Commission.

Research scientists from all over the world presented their latest findings on the ozone problem. It was clear that changes in the ozone count in varia strata of the atmosphere will further intensify the atmospheric hothouse effect.

Richard Stolarski of the Nasa Goddard Space Flight Centre said there had been a three- to five-per-cent decline in the stratospheric ozone count all over the world in the past nine years.

Ozone is thus no longer a problem limited to Antarctic research. The hole punched in the protective ozone layer in the Earth's stratosphere is a threat to more than the penguins.

The dilemma is that while the ozone layer is thinning out in the lower stratosphere, at altitudes of between 15 and 25km, it is on the increase at lower altitudes.

So-called ozone episodes have been on the increase in Europe and North America for 30 years. Closer to ground-level ozone is a toxic irritant gas of which the critical threshold (one part per billion in the air) is often reached in conurbations.

It irritates the mucous membranes of the eyes and lungs.

The cause of this ozone surplus in lower atmospheric strata is well known: nitric oxides plus air and sunlight are converted into ozone. So this ground-level ozone is largely a by-product of static and vehicle emission.

Ernesto Jauregui of Mexico City University told the symposium about serious ozone episodes in Mexico City, where the air has been transformed into a toxic photochemical atmosphere.

The ozone limit has been exceeded for at least an hour a day in Mexico City since 1986.

Kristian Schlegel of the Max Planck Aeronomy Institute concluded that: "The increase in ozone in lower atmospheric strata and its simultaneous decrease in the stratosphere jointly intensify the hothouse effect."

This is due to two factors. In the upper atmosphere ozone can absorb ultraviolet radiation and convert it into heat.

When the ozone layer thins out and vanishes in the upper atmosphere this stratospheric hotplate no longer works. High-energy radiation penetrates in larger amounts to lower strata. What is more, these strata are thermically insulated by hothouse gases such as carbon dioxide that prevent the reflection of heat from the Earth back into space.

While the stratosphere grows colder ozone heats the air at lower altitudes by absorbing radiation in the infrared range (about 9.6 micrometres).

That happens to be the range in which the atmosphere is transparent, as it were. So ozone is a powerful hothouse gas. This ability to absorb infrared light is less effective at higher altitudes (in the stratosphere, for instance) because it is colder there.

This phenomenon is just as might be expected from Planck's Law of Radiation.

Latest measurements indicate that the ozone count is declining dramatically all over the world at altitudes of 40km. The present level is generally assumed to be five per cent lower than it was in 1960.

Having said that, it is still far too soon to definitely attribute dry spells such as this summer's in the United States or the Soviet Union to ozone influence.

Yet one point is clear: any change in the atmospheric ozone count is bound to affect the climate because ozone has so far played a decisive role in stabilising the atmosphere in its various strata.

Mankind is to blame both for the destruction of ozone at high altitudes and for its proliferation at ground-level

In the stratosphere spray-gas chlorine plays a crucial role, at ground-level nitric oxides in static and vehicle emission.

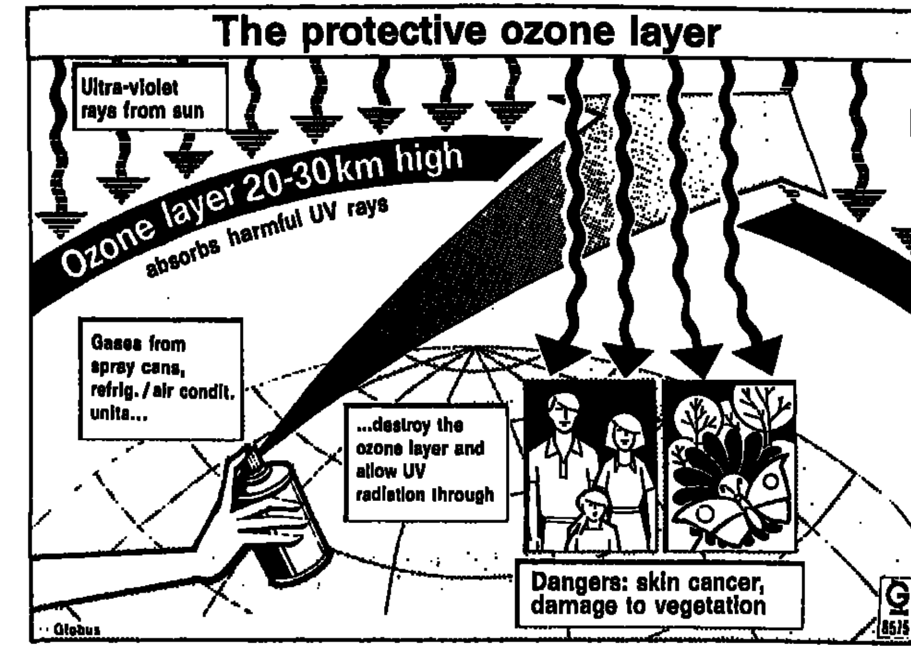
Professor Peter Fabian, chairman of the organising committee, said no-one had any serious doubts any longer as to the scientific fundamentals of the situation.

"Final clarification," he continued, "has yet to be established in respect of details of the extremely complicated processes leading to the decomposition of ozone.

"Last but not least, future trends are at issue. Can this ozone decomposition be intensified by reaction or feedback — via low temperatures — and may it increase out of all proportion as the amount of available chlorine increases?"

Another point to be borne in mind is that most of the halogen-based spray gas is still in the lower atmosphere. It will be years before it inexorably makes

Continued on page 13



German group examines a damaged Soviet ecosystem

Bonn and Moscow have begun to consider cooperation in manned space travel; cooperation has already taken firm shape in another sector, environmental protection.

A German delegation recently spent a week in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Academy of Sciences on a fact-finding tour of Lake Baikal.

They investigated its ecological condition and sounded out the need for bilateral cooperation in environmental protection.

The invitation came as no surprise. It was preceded by talks between scientists and senior officials from Comecon and European Community countries and German industrialists.

These talks, arranged by the Kienbaum Group, who specialise in management consultancy, were held to discuss possibilities of international cooperation on efficient environmental protection in the Soviet Union.

In this connection academician Vyacheslav Dashichev suggested considering whether Lake Baikal as "one of the most magnificent natural phenomena" might not be adopted as suitable for international ecological cooperation.

The Soviet government embarked on initial measures to protect the Siberian lake, 640km (400 miles) long and 80km (50 miles) wide, a year ago.

On 13 April 1987 the CPSU central committee issued a decree on "norms of permissible encroachment on the ecological system of Lake Baikal."

It is the deepest inland sea in the world, 1,742 metres (5,175ft) deep, contains one fifth of the world's fresh water reserves, is 20 million years old and is considered unique in its flora and fauna.

The German delegation consisted of Klaus Pöppinghaus, a research scientist at the Aachen Tech department of hydrology, Heiner Bonnenberg, a specialist in measurement and analysis technology, and Claus Dieter Harken and Hans Hack of the Kienbaum Group, who specialise in managing environmental protection projects in agriculture and forestry.

They have now published their initial findings, which are that environmental protection management will be virtually indispensable for Lake Baikal.

German-Soviet cooperation may, it is felt, prove useful in setting up an international group to study the ecology of Lake Baikal and to draw up dynamic water quality management proposals.

A further group is envisaged as comparing notes on manufacturing techniques that produce as little effluent as possible, looking into biological, physical and chemical sewage treatment techniques and dealing with measurement and analysis technology, data processing and monitoring of waterways.

Yet others are to deal with pollution monitoring and with low-waste production processing and waste disposal techniques.

The idea is for university basic research scientists, industrial manufacturers, suppliers and planners and legislative, administrative and project management experts to get together.

Only a few weeks ago M. A. Grachev, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, made a personal statement calling for the establishment of an ecological centre on Lake Baikal.

Multidisciplinary studies, he said, cannot be effectively carried out by a single research institute, no matter how large it may be; they depend on the participation of the best-trained specialists from various countries.

This research into the oldest inland fresh-water eco-system not yet seriously affected by human interference could, he argued, "lead to fundamental discoveries not only in hydrology but also in general ecology, a branch of science the importance of which has now gained worldwide recognition."

Dieter Thierbach

(Die Welt, Bonn, 12 August 1988)

The Soviet Union

Barents Sea
Leningrad
Moscow
Sverdlovsk
Novosibirsk
Omsk
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Lake Baikal
Irkutsk
Ulan Ude
Sea of Okhotsk
JAPAN
MONGOLIA
CHINA
IRAN
2000 km
DIE WELT

MEDICINE

Need for more advice and support for chronically ill, not just treatment

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The doctor came on his round of the wards and they talked about me, but no-one asked me how I felt or how I was getting on. Do you think that's right?

This question, asked by a cancer ward patient, sheds a bright and unpleasant light on the inadequate care and attention paid to many chronically sick patients, an aspect frequently felt to be the most serious shortcoming of the medical system.

It is a shortcoming from which a substantial proportion of the population suffers. Surveys show that about six million people, or one in 10, in the Federal Republic of Germany are chronically ill.

Probably over 700,000 of them are cancer patients. An estimated 250,000 new cancer cases a year are registered, roughly equivalent to the entire population of Iceland.

For purposes of comparison it may be worth noting that since 1982 a mere 2,210 Aids cases have been registered.

Modern methods of treatment have led to a cancer diagnosis no longer needing to be equated with a death sentence.

That is not even true of patients who cannot be totally cured; many of them have little choice but to live with cancer for years.

Medicine and the medical profession have yet to accustom itself to this idea. They mainly limit themselves to fighting the tumour and fail to help the patient to come to terms, as far as possible, with what is a chronic complaint.

The emphasis is on primary treatment, using surgical steel, radiation therapy and drugs. Long-term "aftercare" (an unfortunate choice of word) frequently amounts to no more than checks for a signs of a relapse or a further tumour.

Cancer patients can only be said to be cared for when personal attention prevails over routine.

These shortcomings have prompted the Federal Research Ministry to promote a previously almost non-existent form of cancer research in backing research and development projects in cancer rehabilitation.

The aim is not merely to enable patients to go back to work but to see how they might best be helped to come to terms with the consequences of their complaint and its treatment and to lead normal lives (again as far as possible).

The Ministry has backed 13 projects so far. They were outlined, at their different stages of progress, at a conference held by Freiburg University psychology department.

The initial situation can hardly be better described than in the words of Dr Gerdes, from Günzburg, in the notes on the research specifications.

Guidelines are not yet available for the rehabilitation of cancer patients, he wrote, any more than overlapping treatment concepts based on such guidelines.

No objectives have been specified and no tried and tested procedures have been introduced.

Research has been carried out on the psychological and social consequences of cancer and how to handle them, but few usable results have been arrived at.

Treatment so far offered as cancer rehabilitation at health resort clinics, for instance, has yet to be scientifically tested to see how effective it is.

Many cancer patients particularly feel a lack of assistance with psychological and social difficulties.

They generally expect help of this kind to be provided by doctors and nurses (who are, however, inadequately trained for this work) and, as "social back-up," by friends and relations (who still often tend to see cancer as a taboo).

Professional psychosocial therapists, Dr Gerdes says, ought only to have to deal with particularly serious cases and otherwise to train and support medical staff, including doctors.

Trained psychologists and sociologists ought always to be available, yet at the moment they are only available at a handful of cancer centres, rehabilitation clinics and pilot project facilities.

Most of the research projects discussed in Freiburg initially involve careful observation, the aim being to find out what difficulties cancer patients have, how they try to cope with them, what behaviour and outward circumstances influence their handling and, arguably, the course of their complaint, how much psychological and social assistance is needed, how to provide it and what benefit it might provide.

It is gratifying to note that research scientists do not, as a rule, bombard patients with questions. They let themselves be guided by what the patients say or do.

They do not reduce patients to the level of mere research objects either. Research and after-care are closely interlinked, as in Freiburg or Berlin, where one of the few German hospitals where psychosocial facilities have been available for cancer patients for seven years is associated with one of the projects.

It is characteristic of the situation that the initiative came not from a doctor but from a former cancer patient, Marina Schnurre. She and psychologist Renate Kreibich-Fischer now help patients to live with cancer as "partly healthy individuals" or, failing that, to die in care and in peace.

The two women describe their work in a book entitled *Ich will fliegen, leben, tanzen* from which the opening quotation is taken.

Their Moabit Model, named after the Berlin hospital, is to be evaluated in cooperation with Saarbrücken University research scientists so that other cancer patients can benefit from the findings.

Several research groups have joined forces and are basing their work on the Berlin concept, which is, in a word, that psychological and social viewpoints must form part of systematic medical treatment from the moment a diagnosis is arrived at and not just in rehabilitation.

In Cologne this approach is on trial at a hospital, in Munich at a day clinic where patients undergo chemical therapy during the daytime, with friends and relations by their side.

Both groups are given detailed advice on how best to handle the consequences of cancer and cancer treatment at home. In this way many patients do not need to be fully hospitalised.

In Hamburg research is being conducted into how outpatients treated at an oncological practice manage at home, how much support they get from their families and what burdens they and their complaint impose on members of the family, especially children.

Cancer patients, especially when they are well-to-do and have suitable homes, are frequently cared for in their own homes, on average being fully bedridden for only 16 days before they die.

So the physical work of looking after them is usually less of a problem than the mental burden, especially the feeling of powerlessness and looking on unable to help patients in pain.

The overall project concept is nothing if not ambitious. Cancer patients are to be reintegrated as well as possible, and preferably not "disintegrated" in the first place.

Yet in day-to-day medical treatment they often feel not only left to their own devices psychologically and socially; the physical consequences of their complaint and the deep-seated effects of cancer therapy are frequently neglected, especially when the medical profession concentrates exclusively on the tumour.

Two examples illustrated this point at Freiburg. One was what can only be described as the scandalously inadequate treatment given for pain.

Professor Manfred Zimmermann and Dr Hanne Seemann of Heidelberg said that for years there had been an internationally acknowledged gradual therapy regularly described in German specialist journals.

It allows the pain two cancer patients in three suffer from at advanced stages of the complaint to be satisfactorily eased in between 80 and 95 per cent of cases, enabling patients to take part in life again.

Tablets or drops are usually sufficient, although the range of painkillers extends from aspirin to morphium.

Psychological procedures, such as relaxation exercises, can also help. Injections or even more complicated treatment are seldom necessary.

Yet the pain suffered by cancer patients is still inadequately treated in many cases.

The second example is the widespread lack of interest shown by the medical profession in how patients react to such deep-seated treatment as chemical therapy.

Some university hospitals send cancer patients home after days of infusion treatment without giving them the least advice on how handle the consequences.

Professor Thomas G. Burish of Nashville, Tennessee, said nausea and vomiting can be reduced substantially, and not just by medication, which is usually the only treatment given.

They can also be reduced by means of easily learnt psychological procedures and written advice on food and behaviour for the patient and his next of kin.

Cancer patients are often cared for much more poorly than they might be, given the state of medical knowledge, and that is not only to the detriment of rehabilitation.

It may even be the most serious handicap to cancer diagnosis being reached in time. Professor Rolf Verres of Hamburg looked into what healthy people expect cancer treatment to be like.

He dealt with the subject in detail in his book *Krebs und Angst* (Cancer and Fear), published in 1986.

His findings, which he summarised in Freiburg, were that while people did not necessarily expect medicine to guarantee them longer life they did expect to be enabled to live better with cancer.

This hope is all too often dashed. Nearly everyone has come across cases of cancer patients and the way they are treated in the family or among friends and acquaintances.

Confidence in medicine has declined as a result. Fear of cancer is fostered. Appeals to have regular checks fall on deaf ears.

More people would probably only turn up for checks if cancer patients felt they were better cared for by the health services. At present this is only the case in pilot projects.

Rosemarie Stein

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 August 1988)

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its way to the upper atmosphere. Mention was also made of a link between ozone and a category of solar radiation known as Lyman alpha. An increase in this radiation has been found to trigger an ozone decline at an altitude of about 70km.

More attention will need to be paid to the inter-relationship between the Earth and the Sun and, say, its 11-year sunspot cycles.

That is the only way in which man-made influence on the atmosphere can be distinguished from extra-terrestrial influences.

Most scientists agree, however, that we already know much more than a smattering about the processes involved.

Peter Zaun

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 16 August 1988)

Services

Continued from page 6

shown an increase of 70 per cent in productivity since 1970 as compared with an increase of 16 per cent in agriculture and 25 per cent in industry. The service industries sector today has the fastest growth rate of all sectors of trade and industry.

Within the service industries sector credit institutions, insurance companies, estate agents and specialised service industry companies have developed the most.

There has been no startling development in trade, transport, railways and the postal services.

Almost 40 per cent of a German household budget is taken up with costs for services including rent.

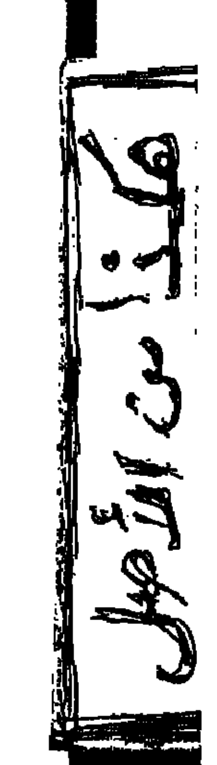
Banks have become more active in handling investments, insurance companies with life insurance.

Increased leisure time has been of particular advantage to companies that cater for leisure pursuits — mainly pubs, bars and travel agencies.

There was more demand for services the less a woman worked in the home.

Andreas Richter

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 16 August 1988)



Definitions: *Football*, also known as *soccer*. It is a game watched by *fans* (a word shortened from "fanatic"). Fans are sometimes known as *supporters*. Some fans or supporters are *hooligans* (the original Hooligan is said to have been the leader of a street gang). Hooligans are sometimes known as *thugs* (from a Hindi word, *thag*, meaning a cheat) or *rowdies* (origin unknown). As well, there are ordinary people who go to soccer matches just to watch the action on the field. They are simply called *spectators*. Soccer matches also involve people called *police*, organisations called *clubs*, which form the players into things called *teams* and pay them lots and lots of money. The articles on this page discuss the relationship of the *fans* to the *club* and to each other. Winfried Wessendorf went for the national Springer daily, *Die Welt*, to a meeting in Bremen held by a youth organisation called *Deutsche Sportjugend*; and Andreas Radlmaier writes in the *Nürnberger Nachrichten* about a study being funded jointly by the city of Nuremberg and the local *club*, FC Nürnberg.



It's just terrible during the cricket season . . . fans at Bremen. (Photo: dpa)

Hooligans: born that way, or is it practice?

Long talks in a Nuremberg bar frequented by fans is characterised by some plain speaking. One fan said: "The media are always discriminating against us."

Another: "The Press should say what really happened — or say nothing at all."

The fans, followers of the Bundesliga club FC Nuremberg, tell members of a study group called XIT (the full name is nice and informative: Gesellschaft für sozialverträgliche Innovation und Technologie e.V.) about their enjoyment of football, about their daily worries, about their relationship with the police, the club and the media, and what they understand about violence and the people who take to violence.

Just one of the many observations was that "brawls are just a trial of strength. It a sort of thing for the second division among the fans."

One says: "You can always expect a punch-up. But the one against the Bavarians (against the fans of Bayern Munich after a game a few weeks ago) was a total exception." So, brawls — are they a peripheral occurrence or part of the programme?

Violence in connection with soccer was around before the emergence of the English hooliganism — and obviously among Nuremberg fans, who are having to battle against a less-than-glorious past.

Bernd Halfar, of XIT, a sociologist at the University of Bamberg, was "pleasantly surprised how openly every involved in the project were to each other." The fans found it interesting that someone should come along and discuss their problems.

Since February, a five-member XIT group comprising three sociologists, an architect and a psychologist have been working on an empirical study into violence in the Nuremberg stadium, "a stock-taking of the Nuremberg situation."

Much of the data has been collected. Information from other similar projects is to be incorporated and will be published at the end of the year.

Involved are fans, who are gradually becoming more trusting in XIT, and members of a work group called "Security in the Stadium". The efforts by sports authorities, public prosecutor, police and club are aimed at eliminating the more sensitive points.

So far, however, not that much illuminating has emerged. Club vice-president Sven Oberhof said: "We don't want to neglect any point that might help us to get to the bottom of an extremely complex problem."

FC Nuremberg has little worries about the about 8,000 fans organised into about 214 fan clubs. Oberhof said they identify with the team and contact with the club is closely maintained through five district coordinators.

The weak point was those non-organised fans who used football as a pretext for looking for trouble. Into this category were, for example, well-dressed poppers (people with distinctive hairstyles effecting a type of trendy elegance).

Halfar and his team also want to know if the conditions in England are a warning for European football; if any specific effect is washing across the English Channel; and why there is more

Continued on page 15

THE PHENOMENON OF THE SOCCER FAN

Everybody — except players — turns up to talk about just why he bothers

The Bremen congress kicked off in a restrained fashion. Fans, scientists, board members of pofessional league clubs, social workers, policemen, sports teachers and politicians all moved the ball around prettily as if none of them actually wanted to put it in the back of the net.

This was in sharp contrast to the traditions of the hall. Here in the community centre of Vahr, a Bremen suburb, the local SPD branch holds its meetings and feelings often run high.

The high point of this congress was instead the match between Werder Bremen, the Bundesliga champion last year, and Bayer Leverkusen.

The conference had been planned and prepared for a year, but there were no footballers there. Does that mean that the highly paid players do not have a high opinion of their fans, who weekend after weekend, drive them on with their passion?

It did emerge in the work groups over the three days that matches themselves are only the occasion, not the cause, for like-minded young people to meet together.

A 21-year-old woman said: "For seven years, I having been going to Schalke (Schalke 04, a club based at Gelsenkirchen, in the Ruhr). I feel at home among the fans, but also when I am not with them. The trips through the entire country are connected with a wish for adventure. The diversity and meeting new people — I like that."

She gained confidence when she saw she had the ear of Elk Franke, a sports scientist from Osnabruck. She continued: "New people join the group and everyone talks, naturally, about football. When we travel, both here and in other countries, we talk about the team."

Franke: "They are trying to discover themselves within a group of people their own age."

One fan, from Aachen, said: "All this hasn't got very much to do with football." He could imagine that he would be quite happy within other groups. A year and a half ago, he had given away following football and had become involved in politics. The leader of the Aachen fans was a right-winger whereas he was a left-winger.

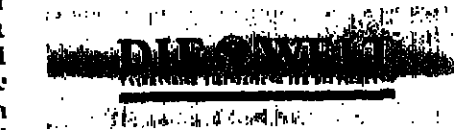
The fans, about 100 of them, were generally subdued. They sat beneath their club flags which decorated the spartan hall and listened spellbound to the words of the organisers.

The head of *Deutsche Sportjugend*, Peter Hanisch, said: "We want everyone to have their say — everyone from members of the Bonn Bundestag to the fans."

There were about 300 delegates, a third of them fans. This, he said, was not a conference about the fans, it was for and with them. For three days, everyone wanted to learn from each other; they wanted to share experiences.

The supporters were leaving no doubt who they supported. As they strolled through the streets to the hall, their banners proclaimed: "Red Devils", "Green White Angels", "Manchester United Supporters Club West Germany", "Alemannia Fan-Club Black White" and "Fan-Club Heidgen Bayer 04 Leverkusen".

At the meeting, they made their points and got the backing of social workers. They want to be better loked



after. They feel disregarded. They seek financial support.

One said: "We are, after all, an important commercial factor."

This clearly tickled the fancy of Werder Bremen's president, Franz Böhmert, who was also representing the DFB, the German football association, who grinned.

He admitted frankly: "We haven't thought ahead that far. In spite of all the commercialisation, we must in the future take greater care of the fans. So far, we haven't given much attention to them as a group."

But that wasn't a matter of commerce. Football got money in the first instance through the spectators. The fans were a part of this.

The fans did not want to hear about the DFB, the national association. One said it had made a fool of itself during the European nations' championship in June.

The speaker referred to his own club, Bayer Leverkusen, and said it had made available 100,000 marks so the fans could travel outside Germany during the UEFA Cup competition last season (it won). He also regretted the alienation between the players ("the big shots," he called them) and the fans.

The fans resented being included among the hooligans, the rowdies who turned to violence. For this reason, an inter-regional group calling itself "United Fair Fans" was founded earlier in the year.

Frank, speaking at a work-group meeting, regretted that the conversation was inevitably being drawn towards the subject of violence. But the delegates did manage to pull themselves away from it and the theme was again only mentioned on the periphery. Of neo-Nazism there was no sign.

Theo Weiss is a member of Autonomen Fanprojekt e.V. Borussia Mönchengladbach (another Bundesliga club). He wrote: "The fan scene is chaotic, it varies greatly in nature, it is confused and lends itself badly to organisation. Members of the project pay 20 marks a month and call themselves, in the English style, supporters and not fans." Fans, says Weiss, has such a negative sound to it.

He said the tension, this lack of order and the conscious or unconscious individual and collective drive against routine frustration, this was precisely the stimulus.

A Frankfurt fan in an armless pink shirt, said rebelliously and doggedly: "When you can't travel on Saturdays, it feels like a hole. That's why it is bad in the off season when there is no football."

Several fans showed their frustration. They began, not too successfully, with a quote in English.

They said they "felt like the fifth wheel on the car, caught between the scientists and the politicians. The fans are only considered when they make trouble."

Winfried Wessendorf

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 August 1988)

FRONTIERS

Traffickers cash in on parents trying to get call-up age children out of Iran

Traffickers in children are making money out of the misery caused by the Gulf War. Parents are believed to be paying through the neck to get their children out of Iran with the money going to individuals in both Germany and Iran; to organisations set up specially to cash in; and in backhanders to Iranian officials in return for exit visas. The largest group arriving at Frankfurt airport are 15-year-olds who are due to do their military service with the Revolutionary Guards. In this article for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Stefan Schröder quotes a German official as saying that most of the children "are in a state" when they arrive.

More than 400 Iranian children between the ages of six and 16 arrived at Frankfurt airport between the end of June and the first week of August.

On some days, more have arrived than usually arrive in an entire year, says Günter Smentek, head of the Youth Affairs Office in Hesse.

There are 500 Iranian children being boarded at 50 homes between Kassel and Wiesbaden. The homes are run by various organisations and the state of Hesse, which Frankfurt is part of, pays.

Hermann Müller of the Workers' Welfare Association, works at a transit home at Kronberg, just outside Frankfurt. He says: "The children are in quite a state when they arrive."

One 11-year-old at the home has heart trouble. He ran up and down the stairs all day long until his uncle came for him. By then he was exhausted. He had a briefcase containing a syringe and drugs for his injections.

Three girls sat waiting for their relations from Neuss to collect them. It would be the second attempt. Herr Muller said that the parents had come to the airport, but could not take the children with them because the correct papers had not been produced. Now it was two days later and everything was arranged.

The day the girls arrived, a youth authority official brought 12 children from Sri Lanka and Iran to the Kronberg home, bringing the number of children there to about 50.

When the children land, social workers from a church organisation usher them through passport controls. Afterwards, the Frankfurt youth authority takes over.

The words, "Consult Wolfgang Brinkmann" were written on a card which one child presented to the border police.

"Brinkmann," a youth authority official, is a well-known name in Teheran. It is believed that his address and that of the Kronberg home are worth a lot of money there.

Klaus Severin, of the border police, believes that specialist organisations offering to bring the children of worried parents in war- stricken Iran to safety are cashing in on the anxiety.

Severin has been newly appointed to head the Border Police at the airport. Since his appointment people who turn up to collect children are more closely checked to see if they do have right to custody.

Severin says he is acting on the instructions of the Interior Minister. Social services have criticised the new tight controls.

But Severin says they are in the childrens interests. Otherwise the risk is that money-making third parties might become involved.

The Frankfurt public prosecutor's office managed to get on to the case of an Iranian woman who picked up three children from the airport and received DM500 per head for her troubles.

But, three days later she handed the children over to a Church social service because, she said, she did not have room at her place,

Investigations against her had to be stopped when it could not be proven that she was involved in trafficking children.

These "smugglers" leave evidence of their handiwork at almost every point of the flight route.

Shabnam, aged 13, for instance, had a false passport, which her mother had bought in Teheran.

The girl said that a family acquaintance passed himself off as her father, because her mother, the wife of a former air force officer in the Shah's government, could have been exposed to persecution.

In the case of 15-year-old Farnam it was helping hands in the Iranian Foreign Ministry who stamped his passport, for a price, and made it easy for him to get through passport control at the airport.

Farnam's family are royalists and members of the ancient Persian Zoroastrian religion — two reasons why the Ayatollah Khomeini's regime would persecute them.

Explaining why his father, a former accountant for an American firm, would pay anything for his son to flee Iran, Farnam said: "My parents only wanted to save my life."

Strict controls at Frankfurt Airport have made the business of smuggling children difficult.

The "smugglers" now try to get the children from the transit home in Kronberg, using instructions from Iranian relatives in Scandinavia or the Netherlands, and to smuggle them over the frontier, into these countries, where visas are required.

Hermann Müller described one case at Kronberg. He said: "The telephone call came at mid-day. Two children went out and disappeared just a little later with all their luggage."

There was also a young boy at Kronberg who was picked up from the control counter by a person who claimed to be an acquaintance.

Seven days later he put the child down on a street and drove off.

Wolfgang Brinkmann said of the controls at Frankfurt Airport: "We are creating a state of crisis. I regard that as being unnecessarily tough."

Uncles and aunts had come from Hamburg to pick up their nephew. Speaking about how the regulations worked in practice, Brinkmann said that an Iranian, who had travelled from Sweden, had to leave his brother in tears in the home. Nevertheless before the new regulations were introduced, six-year-olds had had to sit in the airport all day long, because they were simply overlooked by passport control.

Now all children from the crisis-stricken Gulf can enter the country without limitation.

The interior ministers of the German *Länder* have agreed on an "Iranian regulation," which allows children into the country without hindrance. A visa is not necessary.

But the children are only allowed to stay temporarily.

They cannot make application for asylum themselves, but the Frankfurt Youth Affairs Office, responsible for the airport, applies for guardianship of the children if no one with parental authority or a representative for the parents turns up.

After questioning, an application for asylum for most of the Iranian children

Frankfurter Allgemeine

is made to the federal government official responsible at Zirndorf in Bavaria.

This costs the Frankfurt Youth Affairs Office a lot.

Legislation makes the community, where the children are, responsible for paying for their upkeep.

Günter Smentek said: "So long as their residential status is not cleared up, the local communities concerned must foot the bill."

At present, on orders from Social Affairs Minister Karl-Heinrich Trageser, Hesse has taken over responsibility for costs.

The home at Kronberg has become "a clearing post," where it can be established whether the children should be accommodated by families, relations or in a welfare home. Plans are being considered to send the Iranian children to other *Länder*.

Günter Smentek said: "It would be easiest for us if local communities in Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia took over payment responsibilities, but that the children remained in the home surroundings they have usually got used to."

The "clearing process" is made all that more difficult because of the various reasons for leaving Iran.

The "boom" began at the beginning of the Iranian school holidays in June.

Reasons given for leaving Iran for a short stay in the Federal Republic range from language courses, medical treatment to visiting relatives.

The most usual reason the youngsters give is that their parents were unhappy with the political regime.

The largest group of youngsters is made up of the 15-year-olds who are "recruited" at school for military service, to serve with the Revolutionary Guards, the Pasdaran. They can disappear almost unnoticed at the end of the school year. Hence the wave of child refugees to Germany at this time of the year.

The children must register afresh at a school every year. If they are not back in their classroom on the first day after the summer holidays, 12 September, it would not necessarily be expected that they had flown. Moving house or changing schools would also be possibilities.

German border police in Frankfurt are puzzled, however, that as many as 40 in a group could board an Iran Air plane without the security forces at Teheran airport noticing.

Stefan Schröder

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 August 1988)

Continued from page 14

aggro in English stadia than in packed out Italian stadia.

There are 1,000 theories about the causes, says Halfar. They range from neo-Fascism, unemployment, alcohol, mob-feeling, tough line by police and so on and so forth.

Fighting is often regarded as a sporting challenge, according to what the researchers hear. Other fans say the police take a soft line on principle so that individuals are not criminalised from the start.

The leader of the Hamburg fan project, Peter Koch, says that readmittance of fans banned because of getting involved in trouble would be one solution; better than letting them carry on as hooligans.

XIT was founded in 1984 as an alternative research organisation. It aims at having a structure that is not hierarchic but interdisciplinary.

It also wants to give unemployed secondary school graduates the chance of gaining experience and, thus, perhaps, help their careers.

So money is welcome, but is not planned for, says sociologist Norbert Schneider. The city of Nuremberg is contributing 8,000 marks to the project and FC Nuremberg itself 4,000 marks.

Andreas Radlmaier

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 30 July 1988)

Continued from page 8

The fight against the misuse of substances must be fundamentally reorganised. Only specialised squads at state level, as in Lower Saxony, have any chance.

At the same time a central public prosecutor's office must be set up.

The variety of links culprits in the calf battery business have cannot be supervised by an outsider public prosecutor.

There is a parallel scandal — the cruelty. The usual single-animal boxes are suitable for new-born animals, but when the animals are fattened up they stand in the boxes as if they were cemented in.

The Bonn Agricultural Ministry is to change the law and make it compulsory for calves to be kept in groups.

This will apply throughout the European Community. The Dutch agree but Belgium, France and Italy are in panic because it is a step that threatens the livelihood of the operators.

In the meantime the Americans are pleased because they hope for increased veal exports. In America the use of hormones is permitted.

At present it looks as if there has not been enough control and the personnel responsible for these controls were not professional enough.

As a result of the meat hygiene legislation, passed two years ago, examinations at abattoirs should be carried out not by vets but by controllers. Their training is limited to a three-month course.

Germany came out strongly for this kind of qualification in Brussels — and it was recently passed.

The Health Ministry in Bonn regards this qualification as adequate.

Angela Settler

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